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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-186
Wednesday
27 September 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Bush Chemical Weapons Initiative 'Significant'

LD2609124989 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The United States President, George Bush, has announced new proposals for chemical weapons cuts. [passage omitted] Aleksandr Pogodin comments and this is what he writes:

These and some other proposals related to a ban on chemical weapons and to destroying their stockpiles are of indisputable interest. The Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, has said that the immediate reaction to them is positive, although the proposals announced by the U.S. President will require further study.

I'm not going to anticipate official comments on each of President Bush's proposals, writes Aleksandr Pogodin, and shall make only several personal observations. It is quite significant that the United States initiatives are consonant with the general attitude to chemical weapons produced in the course of the recent meeting between the Soviet and American foreign ministers. Let me remind you that they confirmed their intention to seek the abolition and destruction of all chemical weapons on the basis of a comprehensive and verifiable global ban. To my mind, the latest proposals by President Bush are likely to promote this objective. The Soviet Union has stopped the production of chemical warfare agents; the Soviet leadership has decided to start the unilateral elimination without waiting for an international convention to be signed.

NATO's Woerner Stresses Cooperation on Arms Issues

LD2609101389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2300 GMT 25 Sep 89

["NATO Secretary General's Conversation With Soviet Journalists"—TASS headline]

[Text] Brussels, 25 Sep (TASS)—Correspondent Viktor Chistyakov reports: NATO secretary general Manfred Woerner stated here that the North Atlantic alliance attaches great significance to the development of relations between the East and West and comes out in favor of supporting the policy of cooperation with the USSR on a wide range of problems.

"We are observing the manifestation of the policy of new thinking in the USSR with great interest and approval," Manfred Woerner noted in a conversation with a group of Soviet journalists who visited NATO headquarters during a familiarization trip. He expressed the hope that radical structural changes will be achieved at the Vienna talks on conventional armaments in Europe which, in turn, will make possible a considerable reduction in military potentials and the strengthening of stability.

At the same time, Manfred Woerner said that NATO will continue to direct its attention not to intentions and trends, but to the real military potential of the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, the North Atlantic alliance will keep its defense capability at the necessary level to guarantee the impossibility of the use of force and the unleashing of war.

Answering a question on the future Europe of the year 2000, the NATO secretary general stated that obviously, both military alliances will exist then, too.

Notwithstanding this, they will play, in the first instance, the role of a stabilizing military factor in the sphere of political cooperation. In Manfred Woerner's opinion, nuclear weapons will be preserved in the year 2000, too. NATO does not support the idea of the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, but comes out in favor only of their reduction to the same levels and the establishment of such a parity and stability as would exclude the threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

The NATO secretary general noted the importance of broad dialogue between the military alliances on problems of disarmament and the strengthening of confidence-building measures, including on the question of discussing military doctrines. He expressed confidence that an exchange of opinions on military doctrines also may take place in interconnection with the concrete agreements at Vienna on conventional armaments. NATO is not avoiding such a dialogue, Manfred Woerner said.

Having expressed support for the development of dialogue between East and West, in both the political and military spheres, Manfred Woerner noted at the same time that at present the NATO member-countries do not support the idea of official contacts between the two military alliances.

Disarmament Talks Bring Sides Closer Together

PM2609144989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin article: "Protracted Break Is Over. On the Outcome of E.A. Shevardnadze's Talks in the United States"]

[Text] References to the protracted break in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations during the first 8 months of the George Bush administration, which were copied from one commentary into another, became a journalistic cliche. The meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and the U.S. President and his talks with Secretary of State J. Baker give solid grounds for considering that the break is finally over, and the aforementioned cliche can now be withdrawn from circulation.

Speaking at a news conference in Jackson, Wyoming, E.A. Shevardnadze said that the past 8 months have been a period of mutual adaptation. There has been a natural process of setting political priorities, formulating and selecting options, and shaping ideas about the possible and the attainable. All this time Moscow and

Washington maintained contacts, including top-level contacts. But the talks which have just ended have, in the USSR foreign minister's opinion, taken the Soviet-U.S. dialogue to a new stage.

Specialists and ordinary citizens alike on both sides of the Atlantic have recently—and quite naturally—been worried most of all by the tangible deceleration of the process of talks on various categories of mass destruction weapons. The substantial steps taken by both sides in each other's direction make it possible to hope for significant progress in this sphere.

The greatest differences between the positions of the Soviet Union and the United States remained those on the question of antiballistic missile systems [ABM] and space arms. Bearing in mind that conceptual differences had virtually deadlocked the discussion of this issue, the Soviet side declared its readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive arms even if, by the time its elaboration has been concluded, an accord has not been reached on the ABM problem.

This in no way indicates abandonment of our fundamental stance: The ABM Treaty must be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. In confirmation of its commitment to this agreement, the USSR has decided to totally eliminate the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station. The United States expressed its intention to discuss with its allies Soviet concern over the U.S. radar stations in Greenland and Britain. In this context the USSR also believes it necessary to retain the provision of the right to withdraw from a strategic offensive arms treaty if either side fails to observe the ABM agreement.

It has already been reported that the secretary of state has announced the U.S. side's withdrawal of the proposal to ban mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's] at the strategic offensive arms talks, contingent upon the U.S. Congress' decision on the question of financing U.S. mobile ICBM's. Since these missiles possess greater "survivability" than stationary ones, the Soviet side has considered and still considers them a stabilizing factor which restrains the temptation of a first strike. The elimination of differences on the mobile ICBM's issue should certainly facilitate the elaboration of a strategic arms agreement.

This should also be promoted by the new Soviet proposals on air- and sea-launched cruise missiles, which have also remained a stumbling block at the talks. The Soviet side specifically believes that it is possible to achieve the limitation of sea-launched cruise missiles outside the framework of preparation of a strategic offensive arms treaty. True enough, caution is prompted by the reiterated U.S. doubt about the possibility of effective verification in the sphere of sea-based arms.

Chemical weapons occupied a significant position at the talks. The sides confirmed the need for a global ban on this "poor man's nuclear weapon," as it has been aptly named recently. They signed a memorandum of understanding on a bilateral experiment in verification and data exchange.

Finally, an exceptionally important shift has occurred in the sides' positions on nuclear test talks. Progress at these talks would provide a real way to freeze existing nuclear arsenals and also prevent the development [sozdaniye] of new varieties of this most destructive weapon.

Kuznetsov Discusses Progress in Space Arms Talks

LD2609221489 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—Arrangements reached by Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker during the recent meeting in Wyoming provide a good basis for a successful continuation of a dialogue on the entire range of problems discussed in Geneva, holds Yuriy Kuznetsov, head of the group on space arms of the Soviet delegation at the talks on nuclear and space arms.

In an interview to TASS before the delegation's departure for Geneva to attend the 12th round of the talks, Kuznetsov, specifically said:

"As head of the group on space arms I can say with satisfaction that the impasse that had arose at the talks regarding the ABM problem was overcome in Wyoming.

"The further advance in the area had actually been blocked: The United States had been pressing for an agreement on strategic offensive arms and at the same time for the conclusion of a new treaty that would actually supplant the ABM Treaty and would allow the activity prohibited under the ABM Treaty.

"The USSR, naturally, could not agree to this as we regarded and continue to regard the ABM Treaty the fundamental document without the observance of which strategic stability cannot be ensured".

"Seeking to get the matter off the ground, the USSR stated in Wyoming its readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive arms even if an arrangement on ABM has not been reached by the time the drafting of a treaty has been concluded, given the understanding, however, that the ABM Treaty should be strictly observed.

"An effective solution was thus found allowing to hope for an agreement on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms in the near future."

"No less important is our proposal to work out the concerted notion of the activity which is banned and the activity which is permitted by the ABM Treaty", Kuznetsov said.

"The USSR declared that research and associated tests can be conducted in space but this does not apply to ABM components and systems and their space-based prototypes. In other words, our stand can be summed up as the demand that there should be neither weapons nor weapons tests in space. All the devices that are not weapons can be permitted".

"We are optimistic about prospects for the next round of the Geneva talks", Kuznetsov said in conclusion. "Our American partners are competent, experienced specialists well-versed in the subtleties of the negotiating process. Our delegation has a high level of training, too. I believe this professionalism combined with goodwill can help us achieve the expected results".

Belistkiy on 'Encouraging Signs' in Disarmament

LD2509223389 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Encouraging signs of progress on disarmament: that is how many of the world's media summed up the high-level Soviet-American and Soviet-British meetings that took place at the end of last week in Wyoming and Moscow. In "Vantage Point" today Boris Belitskiy traces these encouraging signs to what he sees as their root cause:

[Belitskiy] The root cause is undoubtedly what we in the Soviet Union—and indeed now the whole world—call perestroyka, the process of far-reaching reforms in this country and the new political thinking it has given rise to. Strong support for perestroyka were expressed last week both by the American secretary of state James Baker and the British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. [Passage omitted] For years prior to perestroyka, all thinking on national security here in the Soviet Union stemmed from the axiom that the country's military strength had to be at least equal to that of its main potential adversary, the United States, if not equal to the combined strength of all its potential adversaries. Corollaries from this axiom required a symmetric response to any new military development in the West.

This inevitably had a highly adverse effect on the Soviet economy and living standards. The sahre of military expenditures in the national budget became 50 percent higher in the Soviet Union than in the United States. At the same time expenditures on health care were 60 percent lower. The thorough overhaul of Soviet military thinking as part of the perestroyka process has produced an entirely new doctrine, the concept of reasonable defence sufficiency. This holds out the realistic hope of breaking the vicious circle of the arms race by conducting constructive and earnest disarmament talks. Last week's talks in Wyoming and Moscow were conducted in that very spirit.

President Gorbachev has made it clear that there will be no symmetric Soviet response to the American Strategic Defense Initiative, known in popular parlance as the "Star Wars' program. The Soviet response will be far less expensive, based on the concept of reasonable sufficiency. Furthermore, in the new atmosphere of glasnost or openness, some Soviet military experts are even now questioning whether the USSR has to follow the United States in relying on a strategic triad for its security: That is land-based ballistic missiles, submarine-based ballistic missiles and strategic bombers. After all, these experts argue, the geographical positions of the two powers are quite different.

Of course, the new political thinking can succeed in making ours a safer and healthier world only if both sides work for a new relationship, which will enable people all over the world to heave a sigh of relief. Last week's talks in Wyoming and Moscow showed that although formidable problems still remain, progress in that direction is definitely possible.

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Produce Compromises

LD2609124289 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 26 Sep 89

["On Nuclear and Space Armaments Talks—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow 12th round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments, which is to start in Geneva this week, may bring the two sides substantially closer to an agreement on a 50-per cent reduction of stratetic offensive weapons.

This is perfectly possible. As noted at the Wyoming meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker, it appears possible to draw up and sign such a treaty shortly in the light of the compromises made by both sides. At the meeting both sides moved closer in their positions on key issues that had remained unresolved after the previous rounds of Geneva negotiations. And this is very important.

Eager to overcome the differences in conceptual approaches, the Soviet Union has declared its readiness to sign and ratify a strategic offensive armaments treaty even if no agreement is reached on the ABM problem.

It was stressed, however, that both sides should observe the ABM Treaty and have the right to secede from the strategic offensive armaments agreement if one of the parties failed to observe the former.

Both sides have agreed that the Soviet Union's approach paved the way to a strategic offensive armaments treaty even if an ABM Treaty is not signed first. Furthermore, motivated by its long-cherished goal of strengthening the ABM Treaty, the USSR has decided to close down the Krasnoyarsk radar station.

The Soviet Union has also proposed to reach an understanding at the nuclear and space armaments talks on what is impermissible or permissible under the ABM Treaty. New proposals have been advanced to help solve the problem of long-range air-and sea-based cruise missiles.

Secretary of State Baker's statement that the United States withdrew its proposal to ban mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles was very important. Both sides have agreed that further elaboration of proposals for the effective control of restrictions on mobile ICMB's was necessary. President Bush's June initiative on control and stability measures has been positively received.

Through joint efforts the sides have resolved yet another standing problem. They have agreed that ballistic missiles will be counted together with their launchers under the ceiling of 1,600 missile carriers.

It is hoped in the Soviet Union that the forthcoming dialogue in Geneva will be just as productive and serious as the Jackson Hole deliberations.

Shevardnadze Briefs Pact Ministers on U.S. Talks

LD2609113989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] New York, 26 Sep (TASS)—A meeting has taken place of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states who are here to take part in the UN General Assembly session.

During the thorough discussion, the USSR Foreign Minister gave a detailed exposition of the course and content of the Soviet-U.S. contacts that were completed the previous day, his conversation with President G. Bush, and his talks with Secretary of State James Baker.

E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that the most weighty political result of the talks was the accord on holding a Soviet-U.S. summit in late spring or early summer next year, which would undoubtedly be an extraordinary and outstanding event not only in relations between the two countries but in international life as a whole. Both the Soviet and U.S. sides are of the opinion that thorough preparations should be carried out for this summit in view of its significance.

The USSR Foreign Minister pointed out that arms control problems were the focus of his talks with the U.S. side. The Soviet Union had acted on the basis of the principled positions it had agreed on with its Warsaw Pact allies. At the same time, impressive results have been achieved.

E.A. Shevardnadze gave a detailed account of the content of the new initiatives put foward by the Soviet Union on the problems of nuclear and space weapons and the major innovative solutions set out in M.S. Gorbachev's message to President Bush, handed over on 21 September. As the Soviet side believes, they open the possibility for dynamic movement ahead toward a major accord on cuts in strategic offensive weapons.

During the talks in wyoming, substantial progress was achieved on the questions of verifying the limitation of underground nuclear tests, and a real possibility of ratifying the 1974 and 1976 treaties in the near future opened up.

Both sides moved forward on the questions of destroying chemical weapons, which in recent times have taken center stage in world politics. There is no doubt that the USSR and the United States must play the leading role in resolving this problem.

The discussions of regional problems were useful. Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations are becoming ever richer. The transnational problems that are occupying an ever more noticeable position in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue go far beyond the framework of advantage to only the Soviet Union and the United States.

At the meeting, the mutual desire was expressed to move forward from mutual understanding to joint action. If this becomes a reality then it will be possible to talk of "the spirit of Wyoming."

The ministers participating in the meeting expressed their satisfaction with the substantial results of the Soviet-U.S. contacts that have taken place, at which, in essence, the whole complex of contemporary international relations were encompassed. What has been achieved will undoubtedly serve the interests not only of the USSR and the United States but also of other countries. The ministers agreed to continue the exchange of views on the very major topical problems of the day at the sitting of the committee of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, which is to take place shortly in Warsaw.

In the conversation, which took place in a free and comradely atmosphere, there participated: P. Mladenov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; D. Horn, foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Hungary; O. Fischer, foreign Minister of the GDR; K. Skubiszewski, foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Poland; J. Johanes, foreign Minister of the CSSR; and Romanian representatives.

A meeting also took place in which, along with ministers from the the Warsaw Pact states, the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Mongolia, Laos, Cuba, North Korea, the PDRY, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Angola participated.

Socialist Ideology Secretaries Confer in Berlin

PM2409151789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

["Announcement for the press": "Press Report on Conference of Ideology Secretaries of the Socialist Countries' Communist and Workers' Parties' Central Committees"]

[Text] On 21 and 22 September 1989 consultations took place in Berlin, capital of the GDR, between the secretaries for ideological questions of the Central Committees of the communist workers' parties of socialist countries. The participants were:

From the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee [CC].

From the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Janos Barabas, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the MSZMP CC.

From the Vietnamese Communist Party [CPV] Dao Duy Tung, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV CC.

From the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Kurg Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC and Joachim Hermann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC.

From the Korean Workers' Party [WPK] Choe Tae-pok, secretary of the WPK CC.

From the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCC CC; and Jose Ramon Balaguer Cabrera, secretary of the PCC CC.

From the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Somlat Chanthamat, secretary of the LPRP CC.

From the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Tserenpiliyn Balhaajav, secretary of the MPRP CC.

From the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the PZPR CC; Marek Krol, secretary of the PZPR CC.

From the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee and secretary of the RCP CC.

From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Vadim A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU CC.

From the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ.

In an atmosphere of mutual understanding and solidarity the participants in the consultations conducted an exchange of views and experiences on current ideological tasks of the fraternal parties in constructing socialism and in the struggle for peace and disarmament. They discussed considerations and proposals, and agreed on measures to further develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of ideology and propaganda and scientific and cultural policy, and to make it more effective on the basis of creative application and enrichment of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The participants in the consultations briefed one another on current issues of the development of socialism in their countries. It was emphasized that in the further construction of socialism, its improvement, restructuring and renewal, the questions of ensuring economic growth, developing the political system on the basis of socialist democracy, raising the living standard and also safeguarding human rights and values are increasingly coming to the fore. The great importance of a high level of development of the productive forces, based on the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in close cooperation with social progress, protecting the natural environment, raising the education level, and enriching culture was emphasized.

The representatives of the fraternal parties affirmed their determination to continue the creative application of the principles of scientific socialism on the basis of the general logic of the construction of socialist society and according to the experiences, conditions, traditions, and requirements of their countries and the variety of possible ways, forms, and variants of socialist development. In this considerable import is attached to the historic role and responsibility of their fraternally linked parties, as vanguard of the working class and the popular masses. Every party is to work out and realize independently its political line, its strategy, and tactics. The party representatives spoke out in favor of continuing their regular exchanges of experiences and views on the common ground and peculiarities in the approach to solving the urgent problems of social development and consolidating cooperation.

Increasing responsibility is being placed on the mass media as an important tool of political and ideological work for portraying life as well as developments in the socialist countries, for propagating the achievements, values, and ideals of socialism. They are called on to more effectively promote the strengthening of friendship and trust and the deepening of their cooperation.

A special role is assigned to scientific and theoretical work based on Marxism-Leninism and the creative experience of the fraternal parties. Starting from the premise that, in spite of all the variety of specific forms and ways of building socialism, the fraternal parties are bound by common goals and ideals, the necessity was underlined of theoretically evaluating socialism's historic path to date and its current problems and making these experiences useful for the nations' and parties' work. They see in this a significant contribution to the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and the debate on socialism's present and future.

The determination was confirmed to continue the worldwide dialogue with the aims of resolving mankind's global problems, mobilizing all the potential of ideology, science, and culture to ensure peace throughout the world, end the nuclear and conventional arms race, and assert the new political thinking in international relations. In this regard the parties attach paramount significance to elevating the people's masses and to cooperation with all social forces committed to these aims. The necessity was emphasized of giving a decisive rebuff in the ideological work to every manifestation of revanchism and chauvinism and to all attempts to sow the seeds of enmity between the peoples. The participants in the consultations expressed their concern at increasing manifestations of neo-Nazism in some capitalist countries. The participants in the consultations declared their solidarity with all those countries that are currently being exposed to especially intense attacks by imperialist circles, above all the GDR, Cuba, and the DPRK.

The participants in the consultations spoke in favor of a just solution to the problems of backwardness, poverty, hunger, and foreign indebtedness, which are a heavy burden on the developing countries, and against the exploitation of these countries by international financial capital.

They are of the opinion that the greatest attention must be devoted to preserving and improving the environment and increasing mankind's ecological security.

The consultations took place in a constructive, frank [otkrovennyy].and comradely atmosphere. The participants in the consultations expressed their cordial gratitude to the SED for the good organization and running of their meeting. It was agreed to hold the next consulations between the secretaries for ideological question of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Shevardnadze Addresses United Nations 26 Sep

PM2709103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4,5

["The Fate of the World Is Inseparable From the Fate of Our Perestroyka. Speech by E.A Shevardnadze, Head of the Soviet Delegation, at the 44th UN General Assembly Session"]

[Text]September 26 TASS—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the 44th UN General Assembly session, spoke today at a plenary session. He said:

Esteemed Mr. President,
Distinguished delegates,

The task I have as head of the Soviet Union's delegation to the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly has been substantially facilitated by two fundamental statements made by Mikhail S. Gorbachev concerning the place and role of the United Nations in building new international relations at this crucial stage in world development—a time when it is moving out of the "Cold War" into a period of peace in its development and asserting a new political order which rests on a comprehensive approach to security.

The profound analytical report of Mr Perez de Cuellar on the activities of his organization over the past year impresses us with its convincing evidence of the United Nations' expanding mission as a global peacemaker.

Addressing the assembly, its new president, the representative of Nigeria Mr Garba, also spoke with conviction about that.

The heads of many delegations have put forth wide-ranging and unorthadox concepts at this session.

Yesterday we listened with close attention to the speech by President George Bush of the United States of America, which, in our view, contained a number of very important ideas of great interest.

As always during these days of the General Assembly's regular session, representatives of the world community together have been recreating a panorama of the past year in the life of mankind.

Its overriding idea is peace and security.

Its ideal composition is a harmony of universal human values and national interests.

In contributing our own national segment to this grand mural, each of us, I am sure, wants it to become a part of an organic and inseparable whole. Unfortunately, in some places the overall composition is still ruptured by gaps that break its integrity.

Over the past twelve months we have seen a highly contradictory picture of the state of the world. Of course, the central concept is still the same; and the theme, a product of mankind's thought and suffering, as we have been appropriately reminded by the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, has not changed: It is the journey of our common ship to a new shore and our shared desire to chart its course so as to avoid a storm that would destroy it.

Nevertheless, there have been some new developments which give rise to concern. It is not just that the ship of our world has not yet cleared the dangerous straits, it is coming up against new threats that could give it a critical lurch.

The 20th century has released the tremendous energy of nations and peoples, which has become a major factor in the development of universal civilization. It is capable of, and has been working miracles by extracting entire national communities from backwardness and poverty in what is historically an amazingly short time. It is adding to the mosaic of the world more and more bright and wholesome elements of progress and prosperity. However, the same national energy, assuming the exaggerated forms of egotism and self-interest, often tends to produce aggression and expansion, a quest for one's own well-being at the expense of others.

This poses the problem of the self-defense of nations, the problem of their physical survival and of preserving their unique historical and cultural identities. Action provokes counteraction, which assumes highly ambivalent forms. Centrifugal tendencies prevail over centripetal ones, thus upsetting the balance of world relationships which are so hard to build.

So, instead of traditional international issues, this makes us focus on domestic and interethnic conflicts. It has now become perfectly clear that internal strife in some countries extends the process of their destabilizsation to vast areas, and that regional upheavals shake up the whole world. Lebanon is a case in point. It is often much easier to resolve the external issues in a settlement than work out its internal conditions, as may be clearly seen in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Today the notion of "within the country" is often relevant to that of "outside." The trouble is, however, that those who form part of the world and yearn for a better life fail to see, behind mountain ridges, jungles, dunes and other features of their national landscapes, the threats to their own existence which could objectively result from their possible isolation.

Equally, those who want to prosper at the expense of others do not see that their own existence is also threatened.

This makes us raise the question of the responsibility of a party vis-a-vis the whole, and of nations vis-a-vis mankind.

This places on our agenda the problem of harmonizing universal and national interests.

Some clarifications and explanations are in order here.

The supremacy of universal human values and the observance of the universal rules of the world community are the imperatives of our times. The objective requirements of the age we live in, its trends, character and circumstances leave mankind no other choice but to reject the traditional polarization.

That axiom underlies both the concept and the practical policies of new thinking.

Of course, it cannot resolve the existing contradictions overnight. But, for a start, it can alleviate them.

Speaking of the primacy of universal human values, we also imply a mature readiness of nations to accept it.

Where that maturity has not yet been attained and where the national idea is being opposed to the common interest, domestic conflicts directly complement and impel global destructive processes.

Now let me underscore this: Freedom of choice continues to crown the hierarchy of a nation's supreme values. Every nation is free to choose the ways and means of its own development—but to do so in a responsible manner. It must not lock itself in the dark rooms of national selfishness or ignore the interests of other peoples and of the entire community of nations. Freedom does not mean irresponsibility toward others, for, in the final analysis, it is irresponsibility toward oneself.

The time has come finally to realize that not all means are good for attaining even the most noble ends.

The international community has become aware of the danger of narcobusiness and terrorism. It condemns and outlaws them.

We need equally determined action against any kind of violence, whatever the motives or excuses for it.

Violence by the state against its own people must be ruled out altogether. Violence on national, ethnic or religious grounds must no longer be tolerated.

To repeat, we advocate freedom of choice. However, we reject its interpretation as a license to use any means, to commit any violence or to shed blood.

Freedom must not be sought at the expense of others.

No support or sympathy should be extended to the so-called movements that allow actions humiliating other nations, or use terrorist, barbaric and inhuman methods in waging their struggle.

It is to be deplored that fifty years after World War II some politicians have begun to forget its lessons.

Let us remember that political and ideological differences did not prevent governments and nations from joining forces to defend universal human values from nazism and fascism.

The dividing line in that battle was drawn not by ideology, but by the rules of, and attitudes toward, morality and civilization. The Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and other countries and peoples found themselves in one camp and, fighting together, saved civilization.

Fascism, which started the war, is the extreme and the ugliest form of nationalism and chauvinism. German nazism marched under the standards of revanchism. Now that the forces of revanchism are again becoming active and are seeking to revise and destroy the postwar realities in Europe, it is our duty to warn those who, willingly or unwillingly, encourage those forces.

The revanchist movement is dangerous and hostile to the march of peace to which President Bush referred here yesterday.

While expressing respect for healthy national movements, let me mention one modern concept of nationhood. It defines a nation as a collective personality endowed with certain rights quite similar to, and even identical with, individual human rights. But there are no rights without responsibilities—either for the individual or for the nation or for the state.

The mission of the United Nations is to promote among the world public the idea of the interdependence of national aspirations and the common good of mankind, and to encourage nations to behave responsibly.

This fundamental position of the Soviet Union is clearly reflected in our bilateral contacts. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States provide the best illustration of that.

I will permit myself to touch upon the U.S.-Soviet dialogue only because I am convinced that its importance goes far beyond the frontiers of the two states.

In the view of the Soviet leadership, this is not some kind of privilege, but a clearly understood responsibility vis-a-vis the world community. Therefore my account of the results of our talks with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker is my report to you.

These talks have demonstrated the increasing awareness by both sides of the need to cooperate for the benefit of mankind and the growing confidence that such cooperation and collaboration is possible.

Agreement to hold a meeting of the top leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States shows that we have moved quite far ahead in solving a number of major bilateral and international problems. Extraordinary efforts at the highest level will be needed to attain the goal of concluding the treaties.

I am referring above all to the preparation of the agreement on 50 per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms. We have proposed to the U.S. side options for resolving the key issues in that agreement—the ABM Treaty and space, the long-range sea-launched Cruise missiles. Our partners have accommodated us on mobile ICBMS. Positions on other outstanding problems have become closer to each other.

In our view, by the time the summit is held next year in late spring or early summer, we may have passed last turn on the road toward a treaty reducing strategic offensive arms. The protocols to the 1974 and 1976 treaties on nuclear explosions could also be signed at the summit so that they could enter into force shortly.

We are confident that the summit will give a powerful impetus to the talks on major reductions in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

We welcome the proposal concerning chemical weapons put forward yesterday by President Bush. Generally consistent with the well-known initiatives of the Soviet leadership, it indicates to us that we share the desire to rid mankind of those barbaric weapons.

The Soviet Union is ready, together with the United States, to go further and assume mutual obligations prior to the conclusion of a multilateral convention:

—Cease the production of chemical weapons, as we have done already (I am referring also to binary weapons).
—On a bilateral basis, radically reduce or completely destroy Soviet and U.S. chemical weapons, regarding it as a step toward the global destruction of chemical weapons,
—Renounce the use of chemical weapons under any circumstances,
—Institute rigorous verification of the cessation of production and of the elimination of chemical warfare agents.

I think that there is no need to say how beneficial that would be for the overall climate in the world.

In addition to the problems of security, the Soviet-American agenda encompasses the issues of humanitarian cooperation, regional topics, and joint efforts in the field of the environment and economic development, reflecting the process that brings together national and universal concerns.

More than ever before, we are clearly aware that Soviet-U.S. relations today cannot be built outside the global context, divorced from the problems common to all mankind.

Our discussions in Washington and Wyoming have moved us ahead in our efforts to bridge the continuing gap between the attitudes to one's own and the common good. Much remains to be done, however, to alleviate the disparities of political objectives, for such disparities endanger all of us.

Let us examine the situation, taking nuclear weapons as an example.

Why are they dangerous? Not only because of their sheer destructive power. They are unacceptable because they widen the chasm between national and universal interests. The equality of nations and the unity of the world become empty talk when someone's national selfishness is driven by the idea of nuclear supremacy over the world, camouflaged as national security interests.

I would say that the world community has as yet no reason for complacency or euphoria. The nuclear threat has only been reduced by the Soviet-U.S. treaty eliminating intermediate-and shorter-range missiles.

We believe that reliance on nuclear weapons does not serve anyone's national interests. It is also an obstacle in the way of more democratic international relations. Only the complete elimination of nuclear capabilities would help to attain real security.

The advocates of nuclear deterrence do not believe this will be possible in the foreseeable future. They respond with concepts of the so-called minimum nuclear deterrence. In our view, that is a step forward, if only a timid one, a step that can be made. But first we must define what we mean by minimum nuclear deterrence and what capabilities should be considered sufficient.

The soviet union proposes that those questions be discussed at a meeting of representatives of the nuclear powers and the states on whose territories nuclear weapons are stationed.

Of course, the persistence of the concepts of nuclear deterrence is due not only to the exaggerated emphasis on national rights and interests at the expense of obligations, but also to the lack of trust. The problem should not be easily dismissed.

What is the way out of the vicious circles? It lies in asserting glasnost and openness and building a wide-ranging infrastructure of pervasive verification. If we do need to deter each other, let deterrence be transparent and verifiable.

To that end, the soviet union is proposing that all nuclear powers conclude multilateral agreements on measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war. Detailed discussions to work out such an agreement could be held in consultations among the permanent members of the security council.

Also in this context, we wish to raise once again the problem of the cessation and prohibition of nuclear tests.

Why are we still unable to put an end to them despite the express will of the overwhelming majority of nations? Because there are those who want to maintain their superiority at any cost.

Guided by its obligations to the world community, the Soviet Union has revised its nuclear testing program by reducing the number and yield of explosions.

Let me point out, however, that the efforts of one state are not sufficient for a comprehensive solution to this problem. We see a number of possibilities here; first of all, the USSR is ready to reinstate its moratorium on all nuclear explosions any day and hour, if the United States reciprocates. Secondly, it is time finally to end the procedural impasse at the conference on disarmament and start concrete discussions there on the problem of a complete test ban. Thirdly, as one possible way toward such a ban, we are now considering the possibility of extending the 1963 treaty to cover underground nuclear explosions.

There is an urgent need for a verifiable cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. We have declared that this year we cease the production of enriched uranium. That in 1987 we closed down one reactor producing weapons-grade plutonium and that we plan to close down in 1989 and 1990 a few more such reactors. By the year 2000 all the remaining reactors will have been shut down.

In addition, the Soviet Union is proposing that all nuclear powers should begin preparing to conclude an agreement on the cessation and prohibition of the production of such material. We believe that in verifying compliance with it, the vast experience of applying IAEA safeguards could prove useful.

It would seem that even the way World War Two began ought to have made clear that weapons do not guarantee security—the more weapons there are, the greater the danger of aggression. And yet, for the forty five post-war years security was sought in the arms race. It is only today that the need is being understood for a fundamentally different concept of security in Europe, a security that relies increasingly on political means and, only as insurance, on a necessary minimum of armaments.

The Vienna Accord heralded a new European situation, opening broad vistas for extensive humanitarian cooperation and exchanges of people, ideas, and information. It holds out the prospect that the European idea will assert itself on a foundation of trust and openness. But a groundwork has to be prepared for that by clearing the continent of excess quantities of arms.

That work has begun.

And, whenever the negotiators do not consign their responsibilities to the backrooms, whenever they sincerely want to strike a balance between their interests and those of their partners, progress is always achieved. One example is the Vienna talks between countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In response to our alliance's initiative the NATO countries have made meaningful proposals which substantially accommodate the positions of the Warsaw Pact countries.

In parallel talks between the CSCE participating countries to develop a qualitatively new generation of confidence- and security-building measures the Warsaw Pact countries have proposed a far-reaching approach calling for a comprehensive set of confidence- and security-building measures, and extending them to air force and naval activities.

Going back to the topic of individual countries' obligations to the community, I feel it my duty to emphasize that unwillingness to engage in active talks on reducing naval forces is a sign of neglecting those obligations. Leaving naval forces outside the process of reducing armed forces and armaments would be harmful to universal security.

The problem of naval forces could be examined, for example, at special consultations to be attended by all states concerned, and, above all, by major naval powers. They would discuss mutual concerns in this sphere and exchange views on the mechanism and ultimate objectives of the future negotiations and on how to move towards them step by step.

The dialectic of developments in the European continent calls urgently for starting talks on tactical nuclear weapons. The situation does not appear to be deadlocked. Mutually acceptable solutions could be sought in an in-depth discussion of this whole set of issues between the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France and the states where those weapons are stationed.

If NATO countries agree to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons, the USSR will respond by further unilateral cuts in its tactical nuclear missiles in Europe.

The problem of missile proliferation is also ripe for multilateral discussions. The number of countries that possess such weapons approaches twenty while the tendency toward its further geographical spread is still strong.

The approach to this issue could be two-pronged. Barriers could be put up which, on the one hand, would preclude the proliferation of combat missiles and associated technology across the globe, and, on the other, would not impinge on the legitimate interest of countries in gaining peaceful access to outer space.

No one in the world can as yet bid a farewell to arms. But we can abandon, once and for all—and do it now, the practice of unconstrained and uncontrolled international weapons transfers.

To that end the principles of glasnost and openness should be asserted here as well. The USSR reaffirms its willingness to participate in the establishment of a United Nations register of sales and transfers of weapons, including work on its parameters.

The time has come when the idea of preventing war is being given direct material expression in relations between the armed forces of a number of countries. A new peace-making instrument is being shaped by the Soviet-U.S. agreement on preventing dangerous military activities and a series of agreements with the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and France on the prevention of incidents on high seas.

Along the same lines, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have agreed to start talks shortly on putting an end to their military stand-off.

The Soviet Union expresses the hope that other states, too, will engage in this process.

A civilized world is an open world. Breaking the seals on many secrets, the Soviet Union reveals to the international community detailed data about all reductions in its armed forces and armaments, their strength, and the size of its military budget.

We reaffirm here the position of the Soviet Union: Our ultimate goal is not to have a single soviet soldier outside the country. But, speaking of equal responsibilities, let us roundly condemn the continuing encirclement of our country, and not only ours, with military bases.

The Soviet Union attaches fundamental importance to a transition from individual measures of confidence-building, openness and glasnost in international affairs to a global policy of openness which would become an integral part of comprehensive security and international peace. President Bush has proposed the idea of "open skies." We like it. In welcoming and supporting this initiative, the Soviet Union calls for opening up the lands, the waters, and outer space. Let us have "open land," "open seas and oceans," and "open space." Only then shall we attain absolute transparency and the necessary level of confidence.

While we duly include in the records of foreign policy such accomplishments as the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the process of granting independence to Namibia, the termination of hostilities on the Iran-Iraq front, and the dynamics in the dialogue on the problem of Cambodia, we are not yet able to say that the positive trends have become irreversible.

Let us pay grateful tribute to this organization's peacekeeping operations. Let us recognize their unique role that goes beyond simply localizing conflicts and attains a qualitatively new level of ensuring stability of the world order.

But today's world order is a far broader category. Our time has firmly established economic security as one of its pillars.

The Soviet Union shares the justified concern about and supports measures to overcome the crisis situation in the world economy proposed at the Belgrade Summit of the Nonaligned Movement. A few continue to dictate to many the terms of their material and economic existence. Those who insist on diktat should understand that the perpetuation of the current situation is fraught with a catastrophe that would spare no one.

It would seem that the world of the rich has nothing to worry about since its economy is in good shape. It would also seem that the rich are beyond reproach since, ostensibly, their wealth breeds generosity—in 1988 the aggregate amount of the developed nations' assistance to the developing countries was 90 billion dollars. But in the same year, 1988, the developed nations received 50 billion dollars more from the developing world in debt servicing and interest payment. That was the largest flow of capital from the poor to the rich man's pocket in history.

Thus, the prosperity of the rich is achieved not without help from the poor. There is more to it, however, than this obvious injustice. Such disparities cannot forever keep testing the strength of the world economy and world politics.

Its health is also being undermined by the enormous cost of military production, which sipohons vast material and intellectual resources from the civilian sector. Now that there is a prospect of limiting the military-industrial complexes, the problem of conversion has to be addressed. This can only be done working together and relying on the experience of all states.

Before the eyes of just one generation, the sphere of politics has linked up with environmental conservation to give mankind the science of political ecology. No one can master it alone, entangled in the fetters of narrow national interests.

Political ecology requires urgent planetary decisions at the highest political level and a full and absolute internationalization of national efforts through the United Nations, by consolidating its leading environmental branch, the appropriate agency of this organization. And since we are speaking of a major component of international security, political ecology requires the obligatory involvement of the security council in solving problems and advocating such tools as transparency and strict international monitoring.

The United Nations conference on environment and development to be held in 1992 will undoubtedly become a watershed in establishing universal cooperation and working out an international code of civilized ecological behavior. We call for holding this conference at the level of heads of state and government.

Defining for itself the main principles of the concept of ecological security, the USSR considers disarmament, the economy, and ecology as an integral whole. While participating in implementing conservation strategies, the Soviet Union has programs for speeding up the integration of its economy, on an equal and mutually beneficial basis, into the world economy, modern international divison of labor and international exchanges in science and technology. To that end we would like to participate actively in the work of international economic organizations and to establish contacts with the IMF and the World Bank, being convinced that our cooperation with them, as well as with GATT and FAO, [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations], will be useful for us and the community as a whole.

In building new international relations our foreign policy looks ahead to a positive evolution of today's world and to its stability. That orientation remains unchanged even in the face of certain changes which affect our immediate interests and the interests of the community to which we have the honor to belong. Still, we are faithful to our avowed principles and continue to affirm that the nations' choice cannot and should not be overridden by force, and that stability cannot be achieved by threatening its use, by interventions, blockades or other sanctions.

It is no secret that we were not enthusiastic about the Polish communists' election setback. Nor should it be a secret that we wish them to overcome the crisis. Nevertheless, we see nothing threatening in the fact that a coalition government has been formed in accordance with the will of the Polish people.

We are in no way prejudiced against that government. We wish it every success and are ready to cooperate with it very actively.

Tolerance is the norm of civilized political behavior. But if it is mandatory for us in our attitude toward the current Government of Poland, why are others so intolerant as regards, say, Cuba? And if a non-communist prime minister is possible in a socialist country, why should the appearance of a communist as head of a Western government be perceived as heresy?

This should not be ruled out either.

The days of traditional demarcation lines are numbered. Only one line remains, to be pursued by all of us together moving to a common goal.

It is not the expression of popular will that threatens countries but rather political and ideological intolerance, chauvinism and the extremist excesses of imperial or nationalist mentality. It is only when they engender violence and destabilize the life of countries and peoples that the machinery of legitimate defense must be activated.

However different are our ideas of preferable ways of social development, we also have an overriding understanding of our common responsibility for the future of mankind and for the survival of civilization. We know that only together can we step back from the brink, because an isolated island of development and prosperity would inevitably sink in the ocean of backwardness and poverty, because peoples and nations cannot be well when mankind is sick. Similarly, mankind cannot survive and avoid devastating consequences if individual nations deplete their resources of vitality in troubles and disputes with others.

There is but one way out of those fateful correlations. As we see it, it is for the world community to move consciously toward a harmony between universal and national principles.

It is difficult to attain. But it is possible.

It is possible because the collapse of the world is unthinkable.

It is possible because we all share a place where individual national efforts unite into a single energy field.

The united nations is that place. It offers a forum for everybody to talk about one's own country and its links with the rest of the world. I will take this opportunity to say a few words about my country.

We are building a new model of society, a new model of relations among people and nations, a new model of socialism. As a great concept, socialism is by no means a spent force; indeed, it is revealing its humanistic potential in the bitter and often dramatic confrontation with the forces and vices that are organically alien to it.

We in our country are not just repainting the facade but rebuilding the entire structure, in which the rules of living together must and will be based on the supremacy of law, people's power, openess to the outside world, inter-ethnic harmony, and friendship.

In every sphere of the common life of our state and our people—the national economy, the political system and the people's intellectual endeavour—rejection of the ossified relics of the past goes hand in hand with the enthusiasm of new construction. And even though, in the words of a poet, we may have a gloomy day or two, we are confident that perestroika, which began as a revolution of hopes, will keep those hopes alive.

Our people, the nation, will keep perestroika going; for it embodies the aspirations that they cherish most.

Today, when some Cassandras hasten to make gloomy predictions, we come up with our own forecast. We want its historical optimism to be shared by all those who understand that the destinies of the world are inseparable from the future of our perestroyka.

So we are saying to them: Our determination to make it irreversible is matched by our belief in victory, a confidence grounded in the democratic institutions which are ready to assert genuine people's power.

We are moving along that path guided, among other things, by our awareness of the historic nature and magnitude of the goal which we must attain ourselves while not rejecting the support of the world community.

Believe me, we feel it not only during the tragic days of natural disasters and national misfortunes. It has been voiced in your statements at this assembly, it manifests itself every day in your compatriots' heartfelt gestures, in their deeds and actions. So I am asking you, the envoys of your governments and nations, to convey to them our warm gratitude for that.

Shevardnadze Meets With Baker, Other Officials

LD2709105289 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker held a working meeting here to discuss some issues from the agenda of the Wyoming talks.

A friendly constructive conversation took place between Shevardnadze and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. The ministers expressed satisfaction with the condition and dynamics of multifaceted Soviet-Czechoslovak ties. At the same time they stressed the need for a creative search for new areas and forms of cooperation both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. It was noted that the closer interaction of socialist countries, far from being at variance with the movement toward a common European house, is part and parcel of the same process. Shevardnadze and Johanes exchanged views on the course of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly. The views of the USSR and Czechoslovakia coincided in regard to the huge potential of this organisation, designed to play a leading role in promoting a nuclear-free, non-violent world and fostering comprehensive security.

Shevardnadze's talk with his Mexican counterpart Fernando Solana was devoted to considering the condition and prospects of Soviet- Mexican relations, as well as a number of international issues. They stressed the friendly and stable relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico—relations based on mutual respect and marked by an effort towards greater mutual understanding. Soviet-Mexican relations have the potential to be fruitful. The ministers voiced the conviction that active reciprocal actions will help successfully implement the long-term programme for trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and Mexico, signed this June. The restructuring of the mechanism of foreign economic relations in the USSR and the process of economic modernisation in Mexico open new possibilities for improving the efficiency of bilateral ties in the above areas. When discussing international issues, Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union appreciates Mexico's consistent efforts to rid mankind of the nuclear threat, to eliminate nuclear, chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction and to strengthen international law, order and trust. The ministers gave a positive assessment of the efforts of Nicaragua and other Central American countries to find a political settlement to the region's problems, and voiced their hope for the successful implementation of agreements on specific steps in this area.

Shevardnadze and his Peruvian counterpart Guillermo Larco Cox exchanged views on the main issues on the agenda of the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Having expressed support for the growing positive trends in international affairs, the ministers stated with satisfaction that on a number of issues regarding ways to strengthen peace and international security, curb the arms race and promote disarmament, the positions of the Soviet Union and Peru are close or similar. Cox appreciated the Soviet Union's innovative contribution to solving the cardinal problems of our day and noted the positive influence of Soviet perestroyka on the international situation.

Both sides stressed the need to internationalise efforts to promote the establishment of a new international economic order—one that would democratise the world economic ties and find a just solution to the foreign debt problem of developing countries. Much attention was devoted to bilateral relations. The two ministers stressed their countries' readiness to extend their political dialogue and to deepen mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation.

Shevardnadze and Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen stressed that all European states share the responsibility for strengthening European security, maintaining stability and enhancing trust. In the current favourable conditions the potential of Soviet-Danish relations—which have a centuries—old history and have contributed greatly to the European experience—can unfold in a new way. The ministers mapped out some specific steps to develop an entire complex of bilateral relations, particularly in the economic sphere. The question of preparing an official visit for the Danish foreign minister to the USSR was considered.

Shevardnadze received Donald Kendall, a prominent businessman and director of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council. They discussed prospects for the further development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet economy and the American business community.

Meets European Community Foreign Ministers

LD2709124289 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze met EC foreign ministers here today.

The meeting was attended by Gerard Collins (Ireland), Gianni de Michelis (Italy), Jacques Poos (Luxembourg), Hans van den Broek (Netherlands), Joao de Deus Pinhero (Portugal), John Major (Britain), Mark Eyskens (Belgium), Uffe Ellemann-Jensen (Denmark), Hans-Dietrich Genscher (West Germany), Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez (Spain), Georgeos Papoulias (Greek first deputy foreign minister) and Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities.

There was a business-like and interested exchange of opinions on a broad range of international issues. The sides concentrated mostly on problems concerning the deep-going transformation of the world, the evolution of East-West relations and changes in Europe.

The West European ministers showed interest in the considerations of the Soviet side on adding substance to the concept of a common European home, which ensures freedom of choice for all European nations and greater possibilities to look for routes of development under the present stable system of international relations. The sides pointed to the important role of the European communities in these processes.

The EC ministers positively described the present changes in the world and expressed readiness to promote the ongoing process of renewal.

The sides pointed to the importance of the constructive development of Soviet-American relations. Shevardnadze described the results of his visit to the United States, noting that the recent talks showed that the USSR and the U.S. had advanced far enough in tackling not only major bilateral but also international problems of great importance for the entire international community.

This contributes to creating a favourable climate for the world as a whole and for the development of relations between the USSR and the EC as a politically integral entity.

Shevardnadze explained the Soviet idea on a summit conference of European states as well as the United States and Canada in the second part of 1990 to conclude an agreement on conventional armed forces, which would be preceded by a working meeting of foreign minsters.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on a Mid-East settlement. An idea was expressed on drafting various approaches to resolve the present situation. These approaches could promote a comprehensive settlement and the convocation of an international Mid-East conference.

The sides noted the concurrence in approaches to a settlement in Lebanon. The sides pointed to the need for supporting the efforts of the Tripartite Committee of the Arab League to look for a way out of the conflict.

Participants in the meeting were unanimous in recognising its importance and usefulness and noted the innovative and unconventional character of the discussion. They expressed the wish that the first multilateral contact between the Soviet foreign minister and the EC ministers should be a starting-point for holding similar meetings on a regular basis.

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 26 Sep

Bush's UN Speech

LD2609172389 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—It is hoped in the USSR that specific proposals which the U.S. President George Bush advanced in his address to the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly will give an additional impetus to a constructive dialogue the two countries conduct now, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev said the U.S. President touched upon a broad range of questions and problems in his address to the session.

These problems were naturally approached from the stand of the USA. But some of these problems having a global transnational character are posed to entire humanity now.

The spokesman said that many large problems broached by the U.S. President will be discussed in detail in today's address of Eduard Shevardnadze to the General Assembly session. Perfilyev said the Soviet side would thoroughly analyse the proposals of the U.S. President.

The spokesman on the whole positively appraised Bush's proposals in the area of banning chemical weapons as they are aimed toward the elimination of arsenals of chemical weapons for which the Soviet Union constantly declares.

At the same time, the spokesman expressed the opinion that it is necessary to begin from the termination of the production of all kinds of chemical weapons.

Perfilyev said the USSR discontinued the production of chemical weapons back in 1987 and urges the United States to follow suit as the reduction of chemical weapons is incompatible with its manufacture.

The spokesman said the United States' determination to do everything to achieve a multilateral agreement of the ban of chemical weapons was met with satisfaction in the USSR.

On Settling Eritrea Problem

LD2609172489 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The meeting between representatives of the Ethiopian Government and of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front held in Atlanta, the USA, last week had a positive outcome, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing today.

He said the meeting of the sides has been aimed at paving the ground for further negotiations on the settlement of the Eritrea problem.

It is noted in the Soviet Union with satisifaction that although not all the organisational and procedural problems have been resolved, the sides, according to reports, have managed, with the assistance of former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, to coordinate a number of such matters and agreed to open talks in Nairobi, Kenya, on November 18.

It is now important to ensure that the dialogue on the Eritrea settlement should become a stable and continuous negotiating process that would resolve the problem, the spokesman said.

The Soviet Union is prepared to do its utmost to promote the quest for a peaceful solution to the Eritrea problem at the negotiating table, Perfilyev said.

Soviet Jews, Media 'Campaign'

LD2609175789 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The Soviet Union has pledged to implement international commitments in human rights and considers it inadmissable for any state to use the status of emigrants-immigrants for political ends, a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry told a briefing here today.

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said that the U.S. and Israel mass media had recently been waging a campaign to give the status of "refugees" to Jewish citizens leaving the Soviet Union for permanent residence in the United States or Israel.

The question is, Perfilyev went on to say, why Jews who are not persecuted in the Soviet Union but who simply decided to go to live in the United States should be considered refugees.

Jews leaving the Soviet Union are not persecuted and the granting of the status of "political refugees" to them contradicts the norm of international law and the current trend towards improvement in Soviet-American relations, including in the field of human rights, Perfilyev said.

Aid to Developing Countries

LD2609175889 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The Soviet Union aids the developing countries in various forms: It grants credits on easy terms, free aid, technical assistance, preferential export-import prices and low transportation tariffs, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing today.

Data on Soviet economic aid to the developing countries, including socialist states, have been declared at the United Nations since 1982, he went on to say. Its total volume amounted to over 12 billion rubles in 1988, or 1.4 per cent of the Soviet gross national product.

Work is now in progress to improve methods of calculating Soviet assistance to developing countries, taking into account norms used by other countries. Besides, the Soviet Union envisages the use of new mutually advantageous forms of trade and economic and financial cooperation with developing countries to raise the efficiency of Soviet aid. As for free government aid, it should be given on an independent basis and in emergency situations.

It is the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet to take decisions on granting Soviet aid and loans to developing countries.

As for foreign debts of developing countries to the Soviet Union, measures are now being drafted to regulate them in line with the proposals contained in President Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly.

Afghanistan Situation

LD2609184289 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—The war in Afghanistan which turned into a murder of civilians in cold blood causes indignation of Afghans in their native country and in Pakistan, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing today.

A series of cruel actions taken by "mujahideens" against Kabul's population in the recent days evokes anger against extremists, and in no less degree against those who supply them with arms, the spokesman said.

According to the information of competent Afghan bodies, meetings and demonstrations of Afghan refugees became more frequent in Pakistan. They protest against forcible recruitment of young people from refugee camps into bands of the armed opposition. Refugees blame this on leaders of the opposition and the Pakistan authorities.

Refugees demand an opportunity to return home. At a meeting held recently in Nasir-Bag camp, refugees demanded that leaders of the "Islamic parties" be executed.

Meanwhile, the armed Afghan opposition whose activity obviously has an inhuman character, continues to receive aid of Pakistan, of some Arab countries and Western countries.

Competent Afghan bodies have the information that Pakistan is supplying Afghan rebels with long-range "ground-to-ground" missiles for use in the Afghan Province of Lowgar.

A group of Arab advisers arrived in the Lowgar province to train rebels in the use of these weapons and to participate in missile launchings.

The FRG supplied Islamic parties with a large consignment of trucks to carry weapons from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Some of these trucks are already being used to deliver weapons to Afghan rebels in Afghanistan's territory, the spokesman said.

Roundup of Briefing

LD2609184789 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—It is hoped in the USSR that specific proposals U.S. President George Bush advanced in his address to the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly will give an additional impetus to the constructive dialogue the two countries conduct now, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing today.

On the whole he positively appraised Bush's proposals in the area of banning chemical weapons and said the start should be made from the termination of the production of all kinds of chemical weapons.

Perfilyev also said that the mass media of the USA and Israel have been rehashing of late the question of Soviet Jews leaving the USSR to settle permanently in the USA or Israel and that the possibility of giving them the status of "refugees" is being considered. The USSR Foriegn Ministry spokesman emphasised that persons of the Jewish nationality leaving the USSR are not subjected to any persecutions.

It was reported that a Soviet parliamentary delegation which will visit Italy late in September-early in October, and which will be headed by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will have a busy programme of contacts to which special importance is attached in view of the preparation for Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming state visit to Italy.

The spokesman also reported that another stage of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Mongolia concluded these days. He appraised this action conducted in close interaction with the Mongolian People's Republic as a real contribution to the common effort of socialist countries to translate the new political thinking into the reality of international relations.

With regard to the USSR's attitude to Mubarak's plan, the spokesman said that this plan is now being studied by the Soviet Union. "We shall look into how it agrees with the overall context of the Middle East settlement," He said. "This plan does not comprise all the problems of the Middle East settlement and refers only to matter of elections. All this has a bearing on the Palestinian Arab people first of all and the attitude of Palestinians to this plan is decisive for us".

Shevardnadze is to visit Cuba, Oleg Darosenkov, deputy chief of the Latin American Countries Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, spoke at the briefing. The friendly character of which, the trustfulness and close cooperation were given an additional positive impetus during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba last April. The contacts between the leaders of the two countries have a permanent character and Shevardnadze's visit is in keeping with the general line, he said.

Reportage, Reaction to President Bush's UN Speech

Speech Relatively Free of Rhetoric

PM2609183189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "'New Approach Predominates'"]

[Text] New York—U.S. President George Bush declared that he is "impatiently awaiting the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev." The meeting, as is known, is scheduled for late spring or early summer next year.

Addressing the UN General Assembly, where the general political debate began Monday, the White House chief expressed gratification with the results of the conversations and talks which he and Secretary of State James Baker had last week with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and during which, in addition to other accords, an accord was reached on a Soviet-U.S. summit. "I am very pleased with the progress we achieved," the President said. "The Soviet Union removed a number of obstacles from the path to the reduction of conventional and strategic arms. We reached agreement in principle on a package of questions, beginning with verification questions and ending with nuclear tests."

"Each one of these achievements," G. Bush went on, "is important in itself. But they are especially important as signs of the new approach which now predominates in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Serious differences still remain, but a readiness to constructively and frankly eliminate differences—this is the new element which we and the whole world must welcome."

A key element in George Bush's speech to the General Assembly session—his first as President of the United States—was a radical initiative in the chemical weapons sphere. First, the head of the U.S. Administration announced U.S. readiness to immediately begin eliminating chemical arsenals and to reduce them by more than 80 percent even before a convention on the complete elimination of chemical weapons is concluded. This readiness is subject to one condition: The Soviet Union must join the United States and reduce its arsenals to an equal level.

Second, G. Bush announced that, in the first 8 years following the signing of a convention, the United States would destroy 98 percent of its chemical weapons. Subject to the same condition: Provided the Soviet Union joins in. And I think, the President said, that "it will join in."

And finally, the United States would be prepared to destroy its arsenal completely, 100 percent, within 10 years from the moment when "all countries capable of developing [sozdavat] chemical weapons" sign the convention.

Touching on other disarmament problems, George Bush emphasized the seriousness of his administration's intentions in the sphere of reducing conventional arms and armed forces, its "commitment to speedy action along the path toward easing military tension in Europe and bringing the continent's countries yet another step closer to their common destiny: a united and free Europe."

G. Bush recalled his "open skies" proposal which, as he said, "the Soviets are prepared to promote [prodvigat]." The President also recalled another of his proposals whose implementation "will for the first time enable all Soviet and U.S. diplomats to move freely within each other's countries" (true enough, the President did not mention journalists, even though the initial version of his proposal is said to have also offered them freedom of movement). "Openness," G. Bush explained, "is the enemy of mistrust. Each step toward a more open world is a step toward the new world we wish to create."

I would like to say just one thing by way of comment: I cannot recall any other UN speech by a U.S. President that was more free of confrontational rhetoric, of attacks and accusations against any country, than this speech by President Bush.

Statement Is 'Welcome Move'

LD2609172989 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—By Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS analyst of military affairs:

Speaking at the United Nations, U.S. President George Bush declared that the United States is ready to begin, even now, the destruction of chemical weapons, despite the fact that work on drafting a relevant international convention has not been completed.

According to the President, over 80 per cent of American stockpiles can be destroyed if the Soviet Union matches the U.S. cuts with cuts in its own stockpiles of chemical weapons. Buch also agreed to inspections in order to monitor the elimination of these mass destruction weapons.

The new Washington initiative is a welcome move, and the Soviet Union will assess it at its true worth. The Soviet leadership has always advocated the earliest possible destruction of all chemical weapons.

In the context of the President's initiative, it will be recalled that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and George Bush thoroughly examined the problem of the elimination of chemical weapons at their recent meeting.

The Soviet and American foreign ministers during their Wyoming meeting confirmed the two countries' determination to strive persistently for the prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of all of their stockpiles on the basis of a universal, effectively verifiable and truly global ban.

The two ministers signed a very important document: a memorandum concerning a bilateral experiment on control and the exchange of information. Its main aim is to promote the quick drafting, signing and ratification of a global convention.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that the steps provided for by the signed document can also contribute to beginning a mutually verifiable destruction of chemical weapons in the Soviet Union and the United States before the work on the convention ends.

This is possible, since the two countries agreed that they would exchange exhaustive information on their chemical arms potentials and exchange visits to several facilities producing and storing chemical weapons as well as to civil chemical enterprises. On-the-spot inspections will verify the accuracy of data supplied, not only at declared facilities but also with inspections by challenge.

It is very important that both the exchange of data and inspections will be made before the drafting of the convention is completed. In fact, the Soviet-American document contains the basis for an exchange of data and mutual control—all is necessary to begin the destruction of chemical weapons.

In conclusion I'd like to draw attention to another statement by the President at the United Nations: The U.S. is ready to eliminate all American chemical weapons over 10 years, as soon as the convention is signed by all states capable of producing such weapons.

This statement is important due to the fact that until now the United States vaguely described its position on binary chemical weapons which are still being produced today. At long last, this question is clear.

Chemical Weapons Offer Noted

PM2609145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "General Debate Has Opened"]

[Excerpts] New York, 25 Sep—On Monday the general political debate opened at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly which is under way here. [passage omitted]

The floor was taken by G. Bush, who was addressing the UN General Assembly session delegates for the first time in his capacity as U.S. President. Dwelling on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations in light of the results of the talks held in Washington and Wyoming with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, he declared: "I am very satisfied with the progress we have achieved... We have reached agreement in principle on a number of problems, from verification to nuclear tests. And, of course, we have agreed on a summit in the spring or early summer of 1990. I am looking forward to meeting Mr Gorbachev. Each of these achievements is important in itself, but they are even more significant as a sign of the new approaches which now prevail in relations between the United States and the USSR." The President admitted that "serious difficulties remain," but at the same time both sides have demonstrated the desire to "deal with these differences constructively and frankly."

G. Bush called for "halting and rolling back the threat" presented by chemical weapons and set out new U.S. proposals in this arms sphere. These initiatives, he says, consist of three elements. He announced U.S. readiness to destroy 98 percent of its chemical arsenal during the first 8 years following the conclusion of a treaty on chemical weapons, provided that the Soviet Union follows its example. "Second, we are prepared to destroy all our chemical weapons within 10 years, provided that all the countries capable of producing chemical weapons sign the treaty totally banning these weapons." And third: The United States is ready to begin right now, "even while work on drafting the treaty is still under way, provided that the Soviet Union joins us in reducing chemical weapons to equal levels and that we can reach agreement on inspections to verify the process of the destruction of these weapons."

The U.S. President also dwelt in detail on the role of the United Nations in the modern world, stressing that "it is an important forum where the world's peoples are seeking to replace conflict by consensus."

United States & Canada

Baker, Shevardnadze Hold 'Short Meeting' at UN

LD2609202489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1945 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York, 26 Sep (TASS)—By mutual agreement a short meeting took place today at the UN Headquarters between Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. They continued discussion of some questions touched upon at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Wyoming.

After the meeting Eduard Shevardnadze, replying to questions from journalists, said: "These are normal working contacts on all the problems which we spoke about in Wyoming. And you know that understanding was reached on many problems. I do not rule out that there may be more contacts. This is a normal process. So there are no surprises."

Replying to a question about the reference in his UN General Assembly session speech to those possessed by the idea of having nuclear power over the world, Eduard Shevardnadze said that he was referring to the "nuclear club." "We should all renounce this superiority which is very dangerous to mankind. Work is being done in this direction, but it is necessary to speed it up in order to rid the earth of the nuclear threat, so that people can live in tranquillity."

After this meeting, James Baker, replying to a question from a TASS correspondent with regard to his reaction to the Soviet proposals put forward in Eduard Shevardnadze's speech at the session, said: "It was a very good and interesting speech. And, of course, all details of this speech will be carefully analyzed in the next few days."

U.S. Comment on Shevardnadze's UN Speech Noted

TASS Cites Bush

LD2709020289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2202 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, 27 Sep (TASS)—On Tuesday [26 September] during a brief meeting U.S. President Bush held with reporters he was asked to comment on the speech by E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politbureau member and USSR foreign minister, at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly. "You can never get everything you want, but I am very pleased with the way things are going," answered G. Bush. "The Soviet reaction to our proposals yesterday is very positive. Therefore, the aim is now to move forward and try to work out these agreements (on banning chemical weapons). We have a good point of departure, which in my view was not there until the foreign minister's arrival here. And I know that he accurately reflects the views of Mr Gorbachev."

White House Comments

LD2709090189 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Washington September 27 TASS—"We welcome the Soviet response to President Bush's chemical weapons initiative. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's comments this morning show that we are on the same wave length," White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told reporters on Tuesday, commenting on the speech of the Soviet Foreign Minister at the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

"It was a very constructive response. And it appears now that both nations are ready to act," Fitzwater added.

Asked whether the United States would be ready to eliminate its chemical stocks, without the completion of a multinational treaty banning such weapons, as the Soviet Union has proposed, Fitzwater said that the issue will be discussed.

The United States expects to reach an agreement on chemical weapons with the Soviet Union, and propose that "The two superpowers reduce their stockpiles to a level equivalent to 20 percent of the current U.S. level" since other countries possess the weapon as well.

However, the Soviet proposal on total elimination of chemical stock is worth discussion, Fitzwater said.

Commentary Views Upcoming Bush-Gorbachev Meeting

LD2609154589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 25 Sep 89

["Mayak" commentary]

[Text] In summing up the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks at foreign minister level the British paper THE GUARDIAN writes that if everything on which the sides reached agreement remains in force there is every reason to suppose that 1990 will become a turning point and will be marked by the concluding of important agreements in the area of arms control and the creation of the sort of stable security system that the world has not yet known in the post-war period. Here is a Mayak commentary. Viktor Levin is at the microphone.

[Levin] I agree with that opinion. Here is why. First of all, I would like to draw the attention of our listeners to the fact that an accord has been reached on a meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush. The place and date for holding it have been fixed. It is to take place in the United States. And, incidentally, President Bush considers that Washington would be a perfectly suitable place. It has also been announced that the meeting will take place in the late spring or early summer of 1990. Practice shows that the very fact that summits occur is of very great significance. I think that the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit may lead to very serious and far-reaching agreements being concluded.

THE GUARDIAN is right when it speculates on the possibility of making 1990 a turning point.

What concrete agreements might be at issue? I would say that first among them should be a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. I Don't need to try to demonstrate how reducing the strategic nuclear arsenals belonging to the USSR and the United States right away by 50 percent would influence the overall world political atmosphere. But at the same time it is also clear that it is far from simple to formulate such an agreement. Therefore the Soviet Union, demonstrating both good will and its aspiration to take yet another very important mutual step along the road toward reducing the level of military confrontation and strengthening confidence, has agreed to reaching and implementing a treaty on strategic offensive weapons without at the same time concluding an agreement on space defense.

Yes, indeed, we are making a concession. Hitherto, as you know, we have considered that the question of banning nuclear and space weapons and the question of the U.S. strategic defense initiative were seen as one single issue by the agreement on strategic offensive weapons. Now we are moving the discussion on to a slightly different plane. The Soviet Union is expressing readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offesive weapons, even if no accord on the problem of anti missile defense has been reached by the time the treaty has been fully elaborated, given the condition however that the sides would continue to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

Decisive steps have been taken to implement two important Soviet-U.S. treaties on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Fundamentally important progress has been noted in the approach of both sides to the problem of banning chemical weapons and destroying all stocks of them. There has been significant progress in bilateral relations. Six concrete agreements were signed and now the number of intergovernmental agreements in operation between the USSR and the UNITED STATES in the area of bilateral relations has increased to 39.

In a word, the talks in Wyoming marked a very important transition from mutual understanding to reciprocal action. That is their main and determining result, the result which is inspiring optimism.

Quayle Remarks on Not Easing Defense Efforts Noted

LD2609124689 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The United States Vice President, Dan Quayle, is continuing a tour of Asian nations, and the keynote of his talks has already become definite. At a meeting with the Japanese premier, Toshiki Kaifu, in Tokyo Mr Quayle said the Western allies should not ease their defense efforts simply because the present Soviet leaders were coming up with softer words.

Keep in mind that the Soviet Pacific Fleet has been reduced by 57 ships over the past 4 years, and more cuts have already been announced. Armed forces in the Asian part of the Soviet Union, too, will get a reduction of 200,000 men in the coming 2 years.

Besides, the package of the Soviet Pacific initiatives includes proposals to curtail the activities of navies—nuclear carrying ships, in the first place—limit naval exercises, and practice mutual notifications.

Aviation Official Views 'Stealth' Fighter Program

LD2609132689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 26 Sep 89

["Is it Necessary To Create a 'Stealth Fighter?'"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—Correspondent Yuriy Kozmin writes:

Although the external appearance and specifications of the "stealth" [nevidimka] progressive-technology fighter still are being kept a deep secret, U.S. specialists are saying that it will resemble a gigantic needle [zhalo]. As such, it exists only on the designers' drawing boards at the moment, but it is already being called "the miracle aircraft of the 21st century." The U.S. Congress now is examining the question of allocating billions of dollars for its creation and for the production of the B-2 bomber, which is "invisible" to radar. Commenting on these facts, Aleksandr Batkov, chief of the Main Administration for Future Scientific Developments of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry and one of the leading Soviet specialists in the sphere of aircraft technology, said:

"The Soviet scientists conducting research in this area have come to the conclusion that the creation of a "Stealth aircraft" will call for considerable expenditures, and therefore is inexpedient. As far as insuring the country's defense capability is concerned, it can be maintained at the necessary level by means of a cheaper modernization of the air defense system. In the USSR there is already an aircraft for the long-range radar detection of aerial targets, which has been created along the lines of the analogous American AWACS system, and should the progressive technology fighter and the B-2 be produced in the United States, the Soviet Air Defense Forces will be equipped with radar stations that will make it possible to effectively combat "Stealth aircraft!"

As Aleksandr Batkov emphasized, the new technology developed by Soviet specialists can be used not only for the detection of combat aircraft, but also for peaceful purposes: in civil aircraft navigation systems, which would substantially increase the safety of air traffic; in the apparatus for following the movement of maritime vessels in foggy conditions within the waters of large ports; and to improve image quality in cable television.

U.S., Soviet Terrorism Experts Meet in Los Angeles

LD2609152189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0820 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] San Francisco, 26 Sep (TASS)—Correspondent Andrey Sidorin reports: The first unofficial Soviet-U.S. meeting of experts in anti-terrorist activity has started in Los Angeles. The Soviet delegation includes, among others, former leading workers from the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB] F.A.Shcherbak, former head of one of the KGB subdepartements and V.V. Zvezdenkov, who for many years headed the subdepartement for the fight against terrorism. On the U.S. side, former CIA heads are taking part in the discussion: former director William Colby, and former deputy director Ray Cline.

The KGB and CIA have their own specific tasks, said F.A. Shcherbak, but there is no doubt that active cooperation in the area of the prevention of terrorism could start in the very near future. The mafia, which resorts to terror, is now assembling its forces, and in such circumstances it is essential that the world community find a common language and path to avert terrorism and protect people's lives, he stressed. [passage omitted]

U.S.-Soviet Communications Venture Created

18250201 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by O. Smirnov, director of the VNIIPAS, doctor of technical sciences: "Telecommunications Across the Ocean"]

[Text] On 20 September the charter documents were signed for a joint Soviet-American enterprise Sovam-Teleport. It will be the first enterprise in the area of telecommunications which will offer users in the USSR and the United States a wide rangeof telecommunications-information services on the basis of new technologies using the most modern means.

The enterprise's creation was preceded by a large amount of work for organizing a high-speed satellite channel for computer communications between Moscow and San Francisco, which linked the telecommunications units of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Applied Automated Systems and the American firm San-Francisco-Moscow Teleport. These organizations have instituted a new joint venture. Its services are available to any enterprises and organizations participating in the development of Soviet-American projects. Sovam Teleport will help them to enter global computer communications networks.

Today for the first time in the practice of bilateral relations the services of electronic mail systems and computer teleconferences for on-the-spot exchange of information will by used by organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the national academies of sciences of the United States, training institutes in the USSR and their American partners, schools and children's computer clubs of the two countries, the mass media.and also social and international organizations. Such, for example, as the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Soviet committee "Physicians for Preventing Nuclear War," the committee of Soviet scholars in defense of peace, and the international fund "For the Survival and Development of Mankind." With the help of Sovam Teleport it will be possible to carry out automated exchange of information between Soviet and American partners and to use electronic mail systems for efficientexchange of information and business correspondence and the system of computer teleconferences for joint solutions to problems and support of international projects. The enterprise will provide access to North American networks for transmitting data and information-computer resources, including the largest problem oriented and specialized data banks and information reference systems, as well as access to the telex, telefax, and videotex networks.

Among the services that are offered are consultation and training of users in work with network information computer resources, assistance in installing and repairing equipment of terminal stations, and leasing and sale of technical equipment and software for supplementing and supplying the remote terminal stations of the users.

U.S. Expert Opposes 'Political Destabilization'

18070767 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report on interview with John Mroz, president of the New York Institute for the Study of Problems of Security in East-West Relations, by TASS correspondent A. Shitov, special to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Nobody Needs Discord"; "Interview with J. Mroz on Problems of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] New York—The intensification of problems of interethnic relations in the USSR does not favor the interests of the United States or the West in general. That was stated in a conversation with the TASS correspondent by the authoritative American political scientist and president of the New York Institute for the Study of Problems of Security in East-West Relations, John Mroz. For me, he emphasized, the essence of the question is not in the possibility of disintegration of one country, but in the assurance of stability on the world scene. This viewpoint is widely supported among my colleagues.

The majority of independent American specialists approve of the now-existing federal structure in the USSR, which should be preserved, J. Mroz indicated. This, of course, does not mean that it is not in need of changes which must go in the direction of widening rights and powers of the union republics. Constitutional changes are vital for the delimitation of questions which deal with all-union jurisdiction, such as foreign policy, defense, foundations of economic planning, and those which could be more effectively decided by local authorities. I would include here ecology, certain economic and social questions, and, for instance, education.

J. Mroz considers the assurance of political stability to be the principal criterion in relation to events in the USSR. In our world, chocked full of weapons, political destabilization is highly dangerous, he emphasized. Furthermore, this deadly process does not yield to controls, and a stone rolling downhill can fall on your roof. It is important to remind you that in its time matters in the United States went as far as civil war for complicated reasons. Several hundred thousands of Americans lost their lives. Therefore I would judge it irresponsible to make any statement to the effect that, for instance, if any Soviet republic wishes to leave the union, let it go. Such irresponsibility is impermissible to any American politician, and even more so for a Soviet one.

Expressing his opinion about the recent announcement of the CPSU Central Committee on the nationality question, the American political scientist stated that he took it to mean that "truly there is a necessity to establish parameters for on-going discussion, which, among other things, would have been impossible only a few years ago. The most important, of course, is not to allow coercion: Nobody needs tanks on city streets. But, on the other hand, local leadership must use a realistic approach and bear in mind the need to hold the development of events within fixed limits."

Aside from political considerations, economic factors play a significant role in the approach of American specialists to events in the USSR. In the West many do not see clearly how a small entity can survive, J. Mroz noted. Can, say, the Baltic republics lead an independent economic existence? That clearly contradicts all global trends, which are aimed toward integration, not disintegration. Austria, for instance, wants to enter the EEC, and even though it seems it will have to remain an applicant for a long time, Austrians are fighting for membership in the Common Market. The reason is clear: They see no way of competing independently on the world market. The economy of Austria is simply too small for that, even though it is far higher than that of any of the Baltic republics.

In the world today, not just transnational, but global corporations are being formed, my interlocutor continued. The largest companies in various countries are creating joint enterprises for successful competition, above all in modern technological fields. Thus ATT joined forces with Olivetti and one of the Japanese firms. Who can confront a giant like that with some factory, for instance, in Estonia?

Developing this thought, our interlocutor told us that recently a delegation came from one of the Baltic republics. In business discussions with the management of a large American corporation, the head of this delegation partly admitted that the republic, in practice, does not know the world market and is not in a position to find out what forms of its production might find a demand. He was also interested as to whether the U.S. Government would be ready to make some kind of an investment in developing economic models for the Baltic and their practical realization. "The answer to this question is beyond doubt: Certainly not," J. Mroz emphasized.

China

CPC Politburo Leaders Hold News Conference

LD2609230789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Beijing today leaders of the PRC held a press conference.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Kulikov] This was the first meeting since the introduction of martial law between journalists and all members of the Politburo Standing Committee—the leadership nucleus of the Communist Party of China [CPC]. The meeting was taking place at a significant time, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the PRC. The country is summing up the results of struggle and work over the 40 years of existence of the People's Republic and 10 years of reforms in the country. There are undoubted achievements and equally obvious problems and difficulties which Chinese society has lately encountered. It was precisely with these sharp questions from the journalists that the press conference began. How does the new leadership assess the events that took place in Beijing this summer? Could the tragedy in Tiananmen Square have been avoided?

Comrade Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, answers this question as follows: I would like to explain that we assess these events not as a tragedy but as a counterrevolutionary mutiny aimed at overthrowing the Communist Party and the socialist system of government in China. These events were brought about by the development of the situation inside the country and the international climate. There are forces in the world which would like to bring down the socialist system of government in China. Inside the country there also are people who preach bourgeois liberalization and try to overthrow our government. But the Communist Party has enough strength to oppose that.

The general secretary replies to a question from Soviet journalists accredited in Beijing, about prospects for the development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

[Jiang, Chinese fading to Russian translation] Gorbachev's visit to China this May is evidence of the beginning of new relations between the CPC and the CPSU. Lately relations between China and the Soviet Union, in the economic, trade, scientific and cultural fields, have expanded significantly. We are full of confidence that fine prospects for the development of relations between our parties and our countries are opening up, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principles of interparty relations.

[Kulikov] The press conference, which lasted nearly 2 hours, aroused great interest in the public. Chinese radio and television carried direct relays from the House of National Assemblies where the meeting took place. [end recording] [video shows press conference room; newsmen; leaders walking in; leaders at table; close-ups of Jiang.]

Jiang Zemin Hails Gorbachev Visit

LD2609135889 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Beijing September 26 TASS—There are good prospects for the development of cooperation between China and the Soviet Union and between the two communist parties on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principles of inter-party relations, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, told a news conference held here today by member of the Standing Committee of the CCP [CPC] Central Committee.

The visit by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to China last May initiated a new stage in relations between the two parties and countries, the Chinese Communist leader said. China and the Soviet Union have recently expanded considerably relations in the economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural fields, he said.

Jiang expressed regret that Gorbachev could not visit Tiananmen Square during his stay in China due to unrest in Beijing at the time and lay a wreath at the Monument to People's Heroes. Therefore, much work was done during the Soviet leader's stay in Shanghai to make his visit to that city successful, he added.

Jiang was secretary of the Shanghai party city committee at that time.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia Confident of Maintaining Stability

PM2709091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov dispatch under the rubric "Vietnam—Cambodia": "Before the Last March"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City—Without exaggeration, this is one of the most extraordinary events of the past decades in Southeast Asia. More than 450 correspondents and observers of the world's major newspapers, radio and television networks, and leading news agencies have arrived to cover it—I am referring to the final stage of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

The withdrawal will begin 21 September and be completed 26 September. The day before it started, a press conference was held at the Ho Chi Minh City press center by Major General Nguyen Van Thai of the Vietnamese People's Army. He said that, under the agreement between the governments of the SRV and the State of Cambodia, the return of Vietnamese units had continued through the summer months of this year. The remaining four divisions would cross the border by the set deadline.

Speaking about the current correlation of forces between the Phnom Penh Government and the opposition groupings, the representative of the Vietnamese command expressed confidence that the Cambodian people, having created their own combat-capable army, will be able to ensure their security by themselves. Everyone wants to know, of course, how Pol Pot's men will behave, since they have the largest number of troops in the opposition camp. Will they try to penetrate the country's territory by force of arms and unleash a civil war, or will they choose the path of negotiations and political bargaining? The near future will show. At the press conference figures were cited for the first time giving the numerical strength of Pol Pot's fighters and the Sihanouk and Son Sann detachments. Their forces, it has to be admitted, are rather impressive.

At the same time, something else is being stressed—the increased resolve of the People's Army of Cambodia to rebuff any opponent who decides to violate the state border. The fact is that, apart from a certain activation of military preparations by opposition groupings in the Cambodian-Thai border area, strategic stability prevails throughout the country's territory.

Observers concur in the opinion that the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia should be viewed as an important factor in eliminating this prolonged regional conflict. The coming days are also being linked with the beginning of a new stage in the relations between the countries of the region, which have expressed the desire to act jointly with a view to creating a zone of peace and cooperation here.

It has to be admitted, however, that with the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, the Cambodian problem is hardly likely to disappear of its own accord. This fact has by now been grasped by many people who formerly tried to reduce the whole matter to the presence of Vietnamese forces. In view of the acute differences between the Cambodian sides, and the Pol Pot forces' policy of trying to thwart all accords and any attempt at national reconciliation—as demonstrated again by the recent conference in Paris—Western commentators believe that the situation around Cambodia will grow more complex.

Thai Efforts for New Cambodia Talks Hailed

BK2509060589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] The withdrawal of the Vietnamese army volunteers is in full swing and is scheduled to be completed on 26 September.

Those who are concerned about the fate of the Cambodian people are watching the current situation. It is difficult to say whether there will be national reconciliation or a civil war, and much depends on the Cambodian factions themselves in this respect. However, encouraging signs have become apparent despite differences of opinion, such as the agreement on a further meeting between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, and representatives of the Cambodian opposition groups. This new meeting was revealed to newsmen in Bangkok on Saturday by Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan.

Prime Minister Chatchai has in recent weeks made considerable efforts to help seek a political solution to the Cambodian problem by meeting with the representatives of the various groups, including Hun Sen and Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. A Thai delegation was also sent to Beijing to meet with Samdech Sihanouk. The discussion focussed on the cease-fire in Cambodia and the prevention of civil war following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

The efforts made by Thai diplomats are not fruitless. According to Mr Chatchai Chunhawan, a dialogue among the warring Cambodian groups will be held in the future. The venue for these informal talks has not been fixed; it might be Bangkok, Paris or Jakarta. This new meeting will undoubtedly also be attended by representatives of Vietnam, the ASEAN countries, and France—where the international conference on Cambodia was held.

It is believed that the atmosphere surrounding this new meeting will be different from the past due to the completion of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia.

Only time will tell whether or not this meeting will lead to a formula for national reconciliation in Cambodia. Nevertheless, the continued dialogue among the warring Cambodian factions is certain to benefit the search for a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

In the current stage, the main task is to prevent the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from being used as a pretext for starting a civil war.

Paper Views Thai Role in Cambodia Conflict

BK2709074789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The last day of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is 26 September. Following is the view of the observer of the Soviet paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA concerning the current situation in this country.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia ends at a time when a fairly complex situation reigns in this country. The Vietnamese Army had saved the Cambodian people from the massacre of the Pol Pot group. At the same time, the Paris international conference did not reach any agreement to guarantee that new conflict will not erupt in Cambodia following the Vietnamese troop pullout and that the genocidal regime does not return to power. As for the Pol Pot group, it only thinks of entering Phnom Penh. Many news agencies have reported that the Pol Pot troops have made efforts to cross the Thai border into Cambodia. However, in the view of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer, Cambodia will not fall to the Pol Pot regime again.

The Cambodian People's Army currently possess enough force, modern weapons, and experiences. They are ready to oppose the enemies. Nearly all observers think that the popularity of the current leadership of the State of Cambodia is constantly on the rise, primarily due to wide ranging reforms started lately. It is very significant that the desire of the genocidal group to return to power in Cambodia is worrying ASEAN circles. Earlier, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Cambodia was considered the source of danger. Now, people have changed their positions.

For example, not long ago, Thailand forwarded a cease-fire proposal to the opposing group and the Cambodian Government. Phnom Penh supported this proposal. As for leaders of the opposition group, they accepted this with indifference. Although it is useful to recall that the opposition continues to carry out operations from Thai territory, it is through Thailand that weapons reach the opposition. Therefore, Bangkok has sufficient ground for uprooting the opposition group. The Paris international conference on Cambodia has not yet uttered its last word. The conference only adjourned for consultation and exchange of views. In the opinion of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer, this has ensured that the horrible dark sky will not fall on Cambodia again.

Philippines Approach to U.S. Bases Analyzed

HK2709033589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] American Vice President Dan Quayle has formally begun his visit to the Philippines. Before he arrived in Manila, he visited South Korea and Japan. The purpose of his visits to the Philippines and the other countries is to look into the various American military bases. It comes as no surprise that the American vice president is interested in learning about the situation involving the military bases in the Philippines, because these are the largest bases outside the United States itself.

The administration in Washington is very much concerned about its military facilities in the Philippines, and it is counting on the fact that no firm decision about the retention of the bases is made as 1991 approaches. This is because if the status quo remains, the United States will have no difficulty in obtaining the right to retain its bases in the Philippines.

At present, however, there are clear signals in the political atmosphere in the Philippines, as well as in various organizations, which are rightfully opposing the retention of the American military bases in the country. The majority of the lawmakers in the Senate are opposed to the signing of a new agreement that will allow the bases to remain in the Philippines.

Meanwhile, in the face of all this, maneuvers in Washington are blatantly geared toward destroying the Aquino administration, as seen in its recent accusation that President Aquino is involved in the importation of contraband firearms. A group of senators has threatened to boycott the welcome for Quayle if the U.S. does not retract this charge against President Aquino.

Then there are the students who have mounted demonstrations in front of the American Embassy in Manila, demanding the removal of the military bases from the country.

While the government has still not declared its stand on the issue of the bases in its discussions with Washington, let us consider several points:

This year the Executive-Legislative Commission was set up to look into alternative uses for the territory being occupied by the military bases. As declared by commission chief Jose Abueva, they are making initial program proposals on the practical uses of the territory and the structures in the military facilities. Some of the proposals include turning Clark Air Base into an international airport, and Subic Naval Base can be turned into a commercial port. These proposals have gained the support of the people who, once the bases are removed, will be provided with jobs.

However the Americans are continuing to exert pressure on the Philippines as they proclaim the strategic importance of the bases. So it is abundantly clear why Dan Quayle is paying a visit to the Philippines.

Nikitin Receives Australian Minister Kerin

LD2609191189 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—Soviet First Vice-Premier Vladilen Nikitin received John Charles Kerin, Australian Minister of Primary Industries and Energy, here today.

During the meeting, the sides discussed the further development of scientific, trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Australia.

The meeting was attended by Charles Robin Ashwin, Australian Ambassador to the USSR.

Southeast Asian Economic Cooperation Viewed

OW2409191489 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Commentary by station observer (Shiliyamov)]

[Text] The prime minister of Singapore has expressed doubts about the possibilty of realizing any time soon the idea cherished by Thai Government head Chatchai Chunhawan of turning Indochina from a battlefield into an international trade market. He points out that there are certain prerequisites to realize this goal, primarily capital funds for developing those countries' infrastructures, including communications facilities, ports, highways, and bridges. Lee Kuan Yew, who is presently on an official visit to Thailand, has raised the question of who is going to provide such funds? In this regard, our station observer (Shiliyamov) has the following comments:

Certain difficulties with regard to this matter must be overcome. In this context, we may agree with the Singaporean leader's opinion.

The attempt over the past several years to blockade the socialist countries in Indochina economically and to separate them from the ASEAN countries has resulted in a certain inertia and the idea of sticking to old ways. Now, however, it is necessary to get rid of such inertia and ideas. In my opinion, however, it would be wrong to exaggerate the difficulties and to create a pessimistic atmosphere as if there were no future. For example, is there any reason to be pessimistic about the availability of investment funds for the economic cooperation program of Indochinese countries? Perhaps there is no reason at all.

As everyone knows, some renowned Japanese industrialists have expressed their willingness to make large investments in Vietnam and Cambodia following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, which is expected to be completed during this month. In addition, an agreement was signed recently according to which Australia will furnish funds to assist in the construction of a bridge across the Mekong River. This bridge is expected to play a significant role in promoting economic and trade ties between Laos and Thailand.

Long ago, Thai industrialists proposed that efforts be stepped up to develop the big market of the socialist countries in Indochina and said that the past complicated political situation is an obstacle to these efforts. Incidentally, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have enacted some new laws recently that have created very favorable environments for foreign investment. As a result, noted bankers and other business executives in Thailind have responded actively to their prime minister's call and opened a new page in relations with their neighboring countries.

Many businessmen from the ASEAN countries feel that there is a trend toward regional cooperation finally, and that whoever makes use of this trend will not lose out.

Near East & South Asia

PLO Leader Yasir 'Arafat Interviewed on Soviet TV

LD2609223789 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—"We are firm in matters of principle, such as the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and statehood, but we are realistic in the working out of variants of Middle East settlement", Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Executive Committee, said in an interview to Soviet television today.

"We do not demand the impossible. We want equality and justice", 'Arafat said. These are the principles of the Palestinian peace initiative endorsed by the 19th session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

The Palestinian leader said that intifadah, the popular uprising in Israel-occupied territories, lasting for almost two years, attests to determination and will of the entire Palestinian people.

"Our people is determined to continue the uprising until an end is put to Israeli occupation and independent Palestinian state is created," 'Arafat said. Peace in the Middle East can only be achieved on the basis of the recognition of the freedom of elections and balancing the interests of all conflicting sides.

'Arafat spoke highly of the Namibian settlement and said its experience can be applied to the Middle East problem. He specified he means the holding of elections in occupied territories under the United Nations auspices and in the presence of U.N. forces, so that the elections become part of the comprehensive peace process. The Palestinian leader said Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir holds an unconstructive stand and continues to say "no" to a dialogue with the PLO.

Despite this the PLO is prepared to open a dialogue with all peace forces of Israel which believe in the coexistence of the two peoples, 'Arafat said. The PLO leader condemned Shamir's plan as it offers an "autonomy" to the Palestinian people virtually under the occupiers' control. Dwelling on the plan of Egyptian President Mubarak the Palestinian leader emphasised that PLO views his proposals not as real initiative but as ten questions of the Egyptian Government to Israel to which no answer has yet been given.

'Arafat declared for the continuation of contacts between the PLO and U.S. though a tangible progress is yet lacking. He spoke highly of the results of the recent meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker where mutual support for intensification of Middle East peace process has been confirmed.

Ambassador to Syria Answers Bovin Article

PM2709095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by A. Zotov, USSR ambassador to Syria, under the "Response" rubric: "Using Chance for Compromise"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The article by IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin entitled "Intifadah. What Next?" (issue No 239) gave rise to an outbreak of comments from readers. We recently published an article by A. Smirnov, who disagreed with the viewpoint of our political observer (IZVESTIYA No 250). The comments continue to come in and today the newspaper publishes another two letters.

I want to expound a few ideas about the situation regarding a Near East settlement. This time it was A. Bovin's article "Intifadah. What Next?" which prompted me to express myself on this score.

Only a serious, in-depth settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of a balanced compromise accords with our country's interests. There is a chance of this and Soviet diplomacy is working constructively to bring it nearer.

The activity around a settlement has also revealed clearly those who do not want a peaceful compromise. They are the rightwing Zionist circles who set the tone in the Israeli leadership. It is they who are methodically rejecting the idea of compromise on the basis of exchanging the territories seized by the Arabs for peace with guaranteed security for all and granting the Palestinian people the opportunity to decide their own national fate. This formula is close to the PLO's present position. Alas, it is very far from Israel's present position.

It is very advantageous to Tel Aviv to "balance out" its obstructionism with distrust in the position of the PLO, which advocates the existence on the territory of the former Arab Palestine of two states—Israel, within its borders before the 1967 aggression, and the Palestinian state proclaimed in November last year. And here it is not a case of the Palestinians expounding this idea in a confused manner—in a whole series of statements, especially in an interview in Geneva, Y. 'Arafat has stated precisely this formula of recognition of Israel's right to existence, which the Americans themselves have proposed as a satisfactory option. The point is elsewhere—in the Israeli rightists' desire to continue their line toward the annexation of Palestinian lands and the national enslavement of the Palestinians or their expulsion from their motherland.

A. Bovin's article contains a reference to the words of PLO Executive Committee member Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh, who has said that the Palestinians are prepared to live in peace with the State of Israeli but will resist the practice and ideology of Zionism. The author cites these words as an example of "Palestinian extremism" which vindicates Israeli suspicions of the PLO's insincerity. I must admit that this is the first time I have heard even a hint of the suggestion that the Palestinians should be favorably disposed toward Zionism, whose aim is to win from the Arabs lebensraum for the resettlement of Jews in Palestine on the grounds that their ancestors lived there 2,000 years ago.

And it is utterly incomprehensible how one can demand that the Palestinians also recognize the "historical and psychological justification" for surrendering their home to a resettler invited to Israel. In general, the thesis of this justification is extremely debatable. For instance, should the intifadah be taken as an indicator of the psychological justification for creating a Palestinian state? If it should, why is Israel opposing this?

The factors of trust and overcoming the image of the enemy are undoubtedly necessary for normal life in the region. They will grow gradually on the soil of the coexistence of two states and peoples, of a "historical compromise," of the readiness for which Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh has, incidentally, spoken, and about which Y. Shamir is keeping eloquently silent. Incidentally, the aim of Zionism, in the interpretation of Shamir's "Herut" Party is to seize land on both sides of the river Jordan and for some reason no one is demanding that they dissociate themselves from this slogan.

The situation regarding a Near East settlement is indeed deadlocked and, of course, you will not advance matters merely by stating the obvious, that is, that Israel is to blame for this. Active forms of exerting political influence on the Israeli rightists are needed to prevent them from continuing to block the path to peace, shooting Palestinians with impunity, and ignoring the dramatic turn to realism on the part of the PLO. A line aimed merely at "pacifying" the occupiers will hardly work. The world must show its intolerance of the lawlessness and violence and the flouting of the Palestinians' rights. This is a matter for all principled people of any nationality. From these positions it seems to me that the proposal to restore diplomatic relations right now with Israeli is an inadequate reaction to what is happening. At the same time I stress that even now I adhere to the opinion that it is necessary to work with Israel, bearing in mind all those forces in Israeli society which understand the perniciousness of Tel Aviv's present course. We have no prejudices against restoring relations, but this political act must fit naturally and organically into efforts which encourage the establishment of just peace in the region.

Soviet Military Adviser in Syria Interviewed

PM2509130189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Lieutenant General V. Kopylov, chief Soviet military adviser in Syria, by Colonel V. Markushin under the "Portrait in the Light of Glasnost" rubric: "Chief Military Adviser"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—[Passage omitted] Lieutenant General V. Kopylov is 49. He has been in charge of the apparatus of Soviet military advisers in Syria for more than a year now.

Our discussion touched on those spheres of military building in which representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces are engaged. This involves work in units and the central organs and training cadres for the Syrian Army. I asked what the geographical area of activity of our apparatus of advisers is.

"It is extensive," the lieutenant general said. "But there are regions where there are no Soviet advisers. There is the group of Syrian troops in the Lebanon, which acts as a peace-keeping force between the warring factions there."

"As far as I am aware, our representatives first appeared in Syria as military advisers after the dramatic events of the Six-Day War in 1967."

"Yes. Since then there has been a qualitative evolution in the Syrian Army's combat capability. And it was bound to influence Israel's behavior. Tel Aviv no longer acts so highhandedly toward Syria as it did in previous years. It has realized the possibility of major losses in the event of a new war being launched, and the aggressive ardor has cooled. And, of course, Syrian servicemen's morale and political attitude have improved. I think that our people's work has played a part in all this..."

What is the Syrians' attitude to our affairs, to perestroyka? It is not clear-cut, according to Kopylov. On the whole one can sense understanding of and support for our undertakings. However, there are features which are criticized in Syria. And sometimes the subtlety with which those features are noted is surprising. For example, the sensation-mongering bent of some of our periodicals, the unscrupulous methods employed in some articles, and the lack of respect shown to the Army. There is a contrast here. In Syria, as, incidentally, in many other countries, it is a great honor to be a soldier. And these are not idle words. Many high-ranking statesmen and politicians consider it obligatory for their sons to undergo the schooling of military service. This gives us food for thought. [Passage omitted]

Tehran's Reaction to Saudi Executions Noted

NC2509203489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Esteemed listeners: On 24 September, 150 Iranian Majlis deputies sent a letter to Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, calling for the unmasking of the true face of Saudi Arabia before the world. This letter was an answer by Tehran to Riyadh's decision to execute 16 Kuwaiti citizens who were deemed guilty of arranging the preliminaries of the explosions which took place in Mecca in July this year, during the hajj.

In connection with this, our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

As we know, throughout the history of the Islamic world, the hajj has been a special manifestation of Islamic unity, quite separate from politics. However, recently the hajj has not remained merely a religious activity; it has to a great extent been transformed into an arena for acute political clashes. Conflicting political viewpoints mostly culminate in serious operations based on the use of force during the hajj, thus hindering its usual performance. For example, extremists planted two bombs near the Ka'bah in the summer this year, and as a result a Pakistani pilgrim was killed and 16 others were injured. At that time a previously unknown organization calling itself the Generation of Arab Anger informed a news agency in West Beirut that it had carried out these explosions. The Saudi Government did not display any reaction to this statement, but a week after these terrorist actions, a group of Muslims were arrested on charges of involvement in the Mecca explosions.

Following swift judicial investigations, Riyadh announced the execution of 16 Kuwaiti citizens who had been identified as guilty of this crime. In the statement by the Saudi Interior Ministry it was pointed out that all the members of this terrorist group had admitted to their crime before the sentence of execution was passed. This decision by the Saudi judicial authorities produced an extraordinarily strong reaction in Tehran. In the letter from 150 of the Majlis deputies to the Iranian foreign minister, this action is viewed as tantamount to an atrocity perpetrated by the Saudi regime. The letter also says that Mecca has now been transformed into a base of the United States and a center for plotting against the world of Islam.

Our commentator then writes: It appears that the extremely vehement reaction of the Majlis and the Iranian mass media is not incidental. The hostile attitude embodied in the Saudi judicial officials' decision can be explained by two points: First, most of those who were executed were of Iranian origin. Saudi Arabia announced that they were Shiite extremists. In this manner, Riyadh indirectly accused Iran of terrorist activities in Mecca. Second, relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia are, as always, extraordinarily turbulent. Tehran displays deep mistrust of every statement by Saudi Arabia, describing that country as the mini-Satan and the puppet of the United States in the Islamic world. It is possible that the Iranian Majlis deputies interpreted the verdict of the Saudi tribunal as a continuation of Riyadh's policy of confrontation with the Islamic Republic.

It is therefore no coincidence that in the 24 September edition of the ABRAR newspaper, Raja'i-Khorasani, the head of the Majlis Foreign Affairs Committee, who had recently supported the normalization of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, was strongly criticized. Therefore, the verdict by the Saudi judicial authorities has emerged as yet another impediment on the path of the resumption of any dialogue between Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Minesweeper Foils Moroccan 'Piratical' Actions

LD2509190289 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—"There is no way to describe the actions by Moroccan sailors other than piratical," Admiral Panin, head of the Political Directorate of the Soviet naval forces, told TASS referring to an incident in July this year.

Moroccan marines attempted to capture the Captain Orlikova autonomous trawler 14 miles off the shores of the Western Sahara and escort it to the port of Dahla.

The Soviet minesweeper Pulemetchik, entrusted with ensuring the safety of Soviet fishing ships in the region, foiled the attempt.

As crew members are returning to the Soviet Union, details of the incident are becoming known.

According to the admiral, the Captain Orlikova boat was fishing, on July 22, outside the territorial waters of the Western Sahara 14 miles off shore. Nearly one hundred other Soviet and foreign ships were in the area at the time.

At 14:20 Moscow time, a 5-strong armed group from a coast guard cutter, with number 310 on its board, attacked the Soviet trawler. They charged the Soviet captain with entering territorial waters and arrested him and some crew members.

Threatening the crew with submachine guns, they demanded that the trawler head for the Dahla port. The Soviet radio operator on board the Captain Orlikova called for help.

Earlier, Admiral Panin said, the Soviet side, responding to numerous attempts by Moroccan coastguards to illegally capture Soviet fishing boats in this part of the ocean, decided to send some combat ships to the region to ensure their safety. The area in question was patrolled by the Pulemetchik minesweeper.

The ship's commanding officer Valeriy Ferapontov, captain 3rd rank, on hearing the call for help, led Pulemetchik to rescue the trawler's 118-strong crew.

At 17:55, a 7-strong Soviet armed group under the command of Lieutenant Oleg Volchinskiy boarded the trawler and Volchinskiy demanded that the Moroccans leave the Soviet craft.

The sea pirates threatened to shoot the trawler's captain. In response, warning shots were fired from the minesweeper's big gun and machine guns.

This settled the matter and the Moroccans descended into a boat sent from the coastguardd cutter which then sped off toward port. After that, the minesweeper escorted the trawler toward the centre of the fishing area.

Pulemetchik has been at sea several months already to provide cover for Soviet fishing ships in the area and ensure their safety, the admiral said.

Radio, TV Agreement Signed With Afghanistan

LD2309213789 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—A long-term agreement and a working protocol for 1990-1991 on cooperation between the USSR State Radio and Television Committee and the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Republic of Afghanistan have been signed here.

The two sides will exchange television and radio programmes to feature the most important events of the USSR and Afghanistan and render mutual services in preparing programmes on the life of the Soviet and Afghan peoples. They will exchange professional experience between radio and television organisations of the two countries.

The documents were signed by the USSR Gosteleradio Committee Chairman Mikhail Nenashev and Minister of Information and Culture of the Republic of Afghanistan Bashir Ahmad Roygar.

Iraqi Ambassador to USSR Arrives in Moscow

PM2509140989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 18 September Ghafil Jasim Husayn, Iraqi ambassador to the Soviet Union, arrived in Moscow.

Indian-PRC Commission Discusses Expanding Trade

PM2509111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent I. Sharov dispatch: "Idea Dictated by Life"]

[Text] Delhi, 19 Sep—India and China maintained trade and economic relations as long as 2000 years ago.

This detail was mentioned several times at the first session of the joint commission on trade relations between the two countries which has opened in Delhi. The Indian side is represented by Dinesh Singh, minister of commerce, and the Chinese side by Zheng Tuobin, minister of foreign economic relations and trade. The commission's main task is to strengthen business contacts between the sides and achieve progress in mutually advantageous relations.

The trade potential of India and China is great, and the two states' internal markets are simply vast. Nonetheless, the range of goods exported by India to the other country is so far limited to everyday articles, the local newspapers write. Meanwhile there is potential for trading in a wider range of goods, including all types of machinery, transport equipment, and other high-grade goods. The utilization of existing reserves would help to reduce and even eliminate the unfavorable balance in India's trade turnover with China.

It is worth noting that shortly before the opening of the session of the joint commission, Indian Minister of Commerce Dinesh Singh, addressing a seminar devoted to Indian-Chinese relations, highlighted the idea of active tripartite economic cooperation between India, the USSR, and China. Unquestionably, the idea of establishing economic relations among the neighboring countries is viable since it has been dictated by life itself.

East Europe

3 Die in Explosion at Soviet Army House in CSSR

LD2609133289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1238 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Bratislava, 26 Sep (TASS)—As was reported, there has been a powerful explosion in Komarno (western Slovakia), in a house inhabited by troops from one of the units of the Central Group of Forces of the Soviet Army.

A TASS correspondent has been informed at the headquarters of the Irkutsk-Pinsk Division, to which the unit billeted in Komarno belonged, that three people died as a result of the explosion: two women and a child from the families of the Soviet troops.

The explosion happened on Monday in the cellar under a flat where a kindergarten was located. Many children were hurt, and three received injuries of medium seriousness. The building, from which the families of Soviet troops have been evacuated, was seriously damaged.

According to preliminary data, the cause of the explosion could be a build-up of gas in the cellar area, but other alternatives have not been ruled out. A joint Soviet-Czechoslovak commission has been set up and will conduct an investigation.

GDR Press Agency Charge of FRG Interference Cited

LD2609113789 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin 26/9 TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

An FRG Minister's Double Standard [ADN headline]
By Hannes Bahrmann

Berlin (ADN)—West German politicians have for weeks now actively interfered in internal matters of the GDR. Most recently, minister in the chancellery Rudolf Seiters made a statement criticizing a GDR Interior Ministry ruling not to admit an association calling itself New Forum.

The ministry last week turned down the group's application for admission saying its aims and objective disaccorded with the GDR Constitution and formed a platform hostile to the state.

In a commentary the GDR daily JUNGE WELT said at the weekend, "those are hostile to the state who want to substitute the right to co-determination enshrined in Article 21 of the GDR Constitution by an opposition patterned on western models." That article says, "every GDR citizen is entitled to participate fully in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist community and the socialist state."

The assessment of sovereign decisions of the GDR Government has obviously kept the minister from thinking about the treatment of dissenters in his own country.

For 33 years, for example, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) has been banned in the FRG, although it was that party which bore the brunt of the anti-fascist resistance struggle in the Hitler era (1933-45). But as the old Nazis were returning to power in the FRG after World War Two the persecution of communists started again.

Since 1972, a so-called radicals decree has been in force in the FRG which bans members of peace organizations, anti-fascist associations and the halt-heartedly tolerated German Communist Party from civil service jobs. Millions of FRG citizens have since been vetted by intelligence services and more than 10,000 banned from their jobs.

This job-banning practice in the FRG has repeatedly been criticized by the International Labour Organization (ILO).

GDR-FRG Border Shooting Reported

PM2509103589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Lapskiy: "Shooting Across Border"]

[Text] Berlin—For the second time in the past month unidentified people have fired on GDR border guards and border installations from FRG territory. This happened close to the little spot of Ebisfelde [name as transliterated] in the region of Kloetze, Magdeburg Bezirk.

There have been a total of 90 shots. A border control tower has been fired on. It was by a miracle that the GDR border troops soldiers inside it were not hurt—the bullets literally riddled it. The village of Ebisfelde was also under fire—traces of bullets have been discovered in the walls of several houses and the church under state protection.

The GDR has issued a protest to the FRG Government over the incident. The West German authorities have confirmed that the shooting did indeed take place—all 90 cartridges have been found in the place indicated, but it has not yet been established who carried out the shooting. This was a repetition of a story from a month ago: Like ghosts, the provocateurs have disappeared without trace from the scene of the incident.

People in the GDR are angry at the new act of provocation from West German territory and the inaction of the authorities there. "Incidents like the one near Ebisfelde village by no means help the consolidation of peace," the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes in an editorial commentary. "The dividing line between two very large military blocs and between different systems is too sensitive to be used as a target for acts of armed provocation. We are in favor of calm, ordered relations on the state border between the GDR and the FRG. Our urgent demand is that Bonn should immediately take measures to halt the criminal actions."

Komsomol Protests Desecration of Graves in Poland

PM2509153189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 4

["Statement by the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol) Central Committee and the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations"—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Komsomol members and many Soviet young people greet with bewilderment the reports of increasingly frequent cases of insults to the memory of Soviet servicemen who gave their lives to liberate Poland from the Hitlerite invaders during World War II and of actions reflecting hostility to the Soviet Union carried out by some Polish youth associations and groups.

Whatever the motives and reason for these actions, they arouse indignation and condemnation among Soviet young people.

We remember the contribution made by the Polish people to the victory against Hitlerism. But do not the descendants of those who fought on all the fronts of World War II, in displaying disrespect toward the memory of the liberating Soviet servicemen, thereby insult the memory of Polish soldiers, too? Soldiers who fought side by side with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition against the common enemy!

We know that there were complex pages in the history of Soviet-Polish relations and that mutual prejudices accumulated. But, remembering the past, the younger generation in the USSR and Poland is called upon to inherit what unites our countries, what can become the foundation of the present and accelerate our progress into the future, become an example of **service** to their people, and of the pursuit of values common to all mankind and the ideals of socialism, and ensure continuity of generations in Soviet-Polish alliance and collaboration.

We appeal to all organizations, associations, and Polish youth movements that are interested in cooperation with the young people of the Soviet Union to show goodwill and raise their voice against provocative anti-Soviet actions which undermine the friendship and good-neighborliness of the peoples and youth of our countries.

Soviet youth organizations, as before, advocate the development of friendly ties between Soviet and Polish youth and express readiness for the broadest cooperation between the young people of our countries.

PZPR's Rakowski Cited on 'Inevitable' Changes

PM2709121789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech By M. Rakowski"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Sep—"I cannot speak for the whole party, but I believe it will be the last Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] congress. Because the new political entity that will probably come into being during the pre-congress debate and at the actual congress will have a different name," PZPR Central Committee First Secretary M. Rakowski has said. At a meeting with the party aktiv at the Krakow PZPR Committee [area not specified—FBIS] he answered a number of questions concerning preparations for the 11th congress and the party's future.

Already, he said, there have been more than 20 different proposals on the party's new name. More often than not the word "social democracy" appears in them. Some people are surprised at this, in others it arouses a suspicion of heresy. However, the issue must be approached in a very businesslike way, M. Rakowski said, recalling the traditions of the Polish revolutionary proletarian party—Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

Even when you consider that the future holds many uncertainties, one thing can be said for sure: With the kind of party we have today, with its structure, above all with the established way of thinking, we will not get very far. Changes are inevitable, the PZPR leader stressed.

Rakowski Pledges Against 'Restoring Capitalism'

PM2709141589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 p 3

[TASS report: "M. Rakowski's Speech"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 23 Sep—"I cannot speak on behalf of the entire party, but I believe that this will be the last congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. For the new political formation which will probably come into being during the debate before the congress and at the congress itself will take a different name," M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has stated. At a meeting with the party aktiv held at the PZPR's Krakow committee he answered a number of questions relating to the preparations for the 11th congress. [passage omitted]

While noting the desire to hold the 11th party congress as soon as possible, he expressed doubt that it can be convened before the middle of next February. "I personally believe that every party organization must be involved in preparing for it. Comments and suggestions relating to the form of the structures and the party program provide an opportunity to adopt more correct decisions for the future. For today this is an opportunity to enliven activities in the party's primary links. The same objective will be promoted by the sounding process, in which we have proposed that the entire party participate."

"We will move in the direction of democracy, certainly in the direction of progress, but above all in the direction of linking national interests to the working people's thoughts and ideas on sensibly understood social justice. It is also certain that we will not move in the direction of restoring capitalism in Poland," the PZPR Central Committee first secretary emphasized in conclusion.

Polish Economic Switch 'Far Worse Than Expected'

PM2709101589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent A. Pershin dispatch: "Plans, Prices, and Protests: Mazowiecki Government's First Steps"]

[Text] Warsaw—Yet another problem has been added to the enormous list of problems confronting the new Polish Government, headed by T. Mazowiecki, that the TASS correspondent in Warsaw has sent to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office, namely that of the "Kazimierz Juliusz" mine in the Silesian city of Sosnowiec. At the mine a split has occurred in the labor collective and the premises of the local party apparatus have been closed and sealed up under pressure from activists of the local Solidarity cell. Meeting with Communists at the mine, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, stated that these actions are a kind of trial run for an offensive against the entire party and urged that a protest be made to the head of government and to Solidarity leader L. Walesa. The latter has already responded to the events at the Silesian mine. On Thursday, at a press conference in Gdansk, he said: If some people want to carry out activity at the enterprise and allow others to do the same, I have nothing against that, but I am not in agreement with a monopoly. A law on political parties is now being drawn up which will resolve all this.

The Mazowiecki government has set about its work with a substantial amount of public trust in stock. This is shown, for example, by the fact that a number of local organizations of the Individual Farmers Solidarity trade union have come forward with the initiative of supplying part of their output free as a way of assisting the cabinet. The idea of a national loan is also being advanced.

Jacek Kuron, who heads the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, was the first minister to call a press conference. He reported that the treasury is bare. The state budget deficit is close to Z5 trillion. To put matters right, in his opinion, enterprises have to be put in order—tax discipline must be strictly observed, and loss-making firms should no longer be maintained out of the state budget but closed. This could produce unemployment. Legal enactments are are being drafted which provide for workers to receive benefits equivalent to their former wages for 1 year after redundancy, with subsequent reductions. During this period it is essential to seek opportunities to retrain workers and find them new jobs. Kuron considers that Poland can avoid significant unemployment.

While ministers are immersed in drawing up realistic, concrete programs, the first publicly tangible step which the population can attribute to the cabinet is the 50-percent increase in the price of gasoline and diesel. The Federation of Consumers has protested against this, pointing out that it will lead to a further increase in the prices of many goods.

The figures contained in the Polish Main Statistical Administration report on socioeconomic development in August, that is to say the first month when market mechanisms began operating in the food complex, reflect this dramatic picture of the situation in the national economy. August saw an intensification of negative trends in the economy. Industrial goods output, housing construction, and meat purchases continued to fall. Social tension mounted. There were 298 strikes, involving 135,000 people. The volume of state sector output sold was 6.7 percent below the similar period last year. The imbalance in supply and demand on the domestic market is continuing to increase. For example, supplies of goods for August this year were 50-percent down on the similar period in 1988. Retail prices for consumer goods and services rose on average by 43-45 percent in August compared with July this year. Over this same period the prices of meat products rose sevenfold, while other foods almost tripled in price. Commenting on the Main Statistical Administration's figures, the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA writes that the switch to market mechanisms has had a far worse impact than expected so far.

Confronted by these very acute problems, the new government has made a major decision—to revise the state budget for October 1989 in order to curb inflationary processes.

The economic problems have now been added to by the political problem manifested so acutely at the "Kazimierz Juliusz" mine. Success in extricating the country from crisis depends on the cabinet taking correct, well-considered steps in this extremely important sphere.

'Panorama' Program Views Polish Situation

LD2409183589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] [Shishlin] Poland now stands at a sharp bend. At this point we have the opportunity to talk to our correspondent in Warsaw, Yuriy Aleksandrovich Ulyanov. Hello Yuriy Aleksandrovich.

[Ulyanov] Hello.

[Shishlin] I have a few questions to ask you. The first question concerns the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The party has found itself in a new political situation. How does it feel and how do Polish Communists see the future?

[Ulyanov] Nikolay Vladimirovich, I think that I will very often be using the words "very complex" in our conversation today. The situation really is very complex. The situation in the economy is complex. The situation in society is complex. It is complex in the trade unions and it is also complex in the party. At the outset I would like our viewers to watch this short video report:

This is Kazimierz Juliusz mine in the Katowice coal field. [video shows scenes at Kazimierz Juliusz mine] A few days ago the party committee at the mine was closed down. Three thousand of the 5,000 miners working there supported this decision. Just look at how agitated this man is. He is the secretary of the party committee. [video shows interview with man] And the party committee itself has been done away with as of now. The party committee no longer exists at Kazimierz Juliusz mine. Reports are coming in that certain other mines and certain enterprises are preparing to take the same sort of action. There is now a certain degree of stratification in the party. There is talk of rejecting the principles of democratic centralism and so on and so forth. And indeed some people are taking the line that Marxism-Leninism is no example for them and that Leninism in Polish conditions is generally Stalinism.

Here is a poll published in the paper TRYBUNA LUDU. [video shows Ulyanov holding a newspaper] It is a poll for party members asking what should be done next and how to continue. That is, I mean that the party is still, to answer your question, looking for a place in society.

[Shishlin] How are relations between Solidarity and the working class? Have they changed? Is there any difference compared to a year or 2 ago.

[Ulyanov] There are now two trade unions operating in Poland. The National Trade Union Confederation in general reflects the interests of the working people and primarily the interests of working people who work in state enterprises. As for the trade union Solidarity it is difficult to tell for sure what are its relations with the working class. On the one hand, Solidarity has been victorious, but, on the other, Solidarity is now calling for an end to strikes. The government is more or less using the voice of Solidarity to state that the Polish people will have to tighten its belt and that obviously a drop in the standard of living of the working people is to be expected and that there is a need for the denationalization of industry and closure of unprofitable enterprises which will really bring unemployment. Naturally, rank and file members of the Solidarity trade union and ordinary workers at enterprises aren't very keen on that.

This news conference was held on Thursday. [video shows Walesa speaking at news conference] Lech Walesa told journalists that Solidarity today cannot occupy itself only with trade union problems, adding that Solidarity will be demanding cadre changes including for example in the Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee—that is our related organization from which we are now conducting this conversation.

You know, as I see it Solidarity was in general right in raising the point that it is bad when there is a monopoly on power, even if it is, let's say, with the PZPR, that it is bad when the PZPR Central Committee issues instructions on what must be shown on Vremya or on our programme or Dziennik as it is called here. So that is a brief word, so to speak, about relations between Solidarity and the working class and about politics.

[Shishlin] Well, undoubtedly, people here have a lively interest in and are concerned about the attitude of Polish society to the Soviet Union.

[Ulyanov] You see, I think here that I would look at this question, so to speak, in a wider perspective. Do you understand? Our tourists who have visited Poland talk about anti-Sovietism in Poland. I, for example, have never felt any such thing personally.

The Poles are a very friendly, very hospitable very expansive people and in general they are very well-disposed to Soviet people. As for official relations here is how things stand. To start off with I would also like to show you a recent film recording we made, one of our reports from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. [video shows people gathered around monument] On that day, the 17th, there was a gathering of people who had decided to mark the 50th anniversary of the arrival of units of the Red Army on the territory of the West Ukraine and West Belorussia which, as is well known, were united with Poland after the Polish-Soviet war in 1920.

Wreaths were laid and then there was a meeting which, let's say straight out, was somewhat anti-Soviet in tone. After that those who took part in the meeting set off with their slogans around the streets of Warsaw. These were people of the older generation and they soon dispersed and went home. But the young people followed their example. Here now you see Marszalkowska Street, the main street in Warsaw. [video shows young people's demonstration] Young people march up this street carrying banners. They are going toward the Soviet Embassy. [video shows demonstrators arriving at large columned building behind iron railings] There is the Soviet Embassy. You now see it on your screen. And here comes the demonstration. They arrived at the embassy and sat down in the middle of the road, impeding traffic and chanting slogans, slogans like "Down with Communists!" and "Soviets Go Home!"

During the same few days, windows were broken at the offices of the Soviet Trade Mission at Katowice and there was an anti-Soviet demonstration in Krakow and in certain other places. And so, why is this possible? I think that the reason lies primarily in the instability of the actual situation currently prevailing in Poland. Despite the fact that the Polish leadership—I mean both Mazowiecki, the prime minister and the ministers—say that they favor cooperation with the Soviet Union there are irresponsible people who are making highly extremist statements, let's be frank about it, both on television and on the radio and also in the press.

[Shishlin] Thank you, Yuriy Aleksandrovich. I think that nonetheless geopolitical realities will be recognized by Polish society and by the various political forces in Poland. As you know we have far more issues than time and so once again thanks a lot.

[Ulyanov] Thank you very much.

[Shishlin] All the best.

[Ulyanov] Goodbye

[Shishlin] Well then. As you can see, the situation in Poland is really far from stable and there are simply no simple solutions to Polish problems.

RSFSR's Vlasov Continues Visit to Yugoslavia

Discusses Cooperation With Ckrebic

LD2709042489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TASS)—The official friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia by

Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, is continuing.

Today he met Dusan Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium. A friendly conversation took place during the course of which a high evaluation was given to the development of relations between the CPSU and the LCY and between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Mutually advantageous contacts between the two countries are based on the Soviet-Yugoslavian declaration adopted during the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia in March 1988.

The sides emphasized the important role of interparty cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY and its significance in the deepening of a dialogue on key issues of the construction of socialism. Exchange of experience has paramount significance for implementing socioeconomic reforms in both countries. Direct, friendly links between separate republics, areas, and cities of our countries, which are becoming stronger, serve the further widening of Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

In the course of the conversation an exchange of opinions took place on issues of the domestic situations of both countries. D. Ckrebic spoke about preparation for the 14th (extraordinary) congress of the League of Communists. A. Vlasov spoke about the decisions of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, which adopted the CPSU platform "On party nationalities policy in present conditions."

Visits Tito Memorial, War Monuments

LD2709120189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TASS)—Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, who is on an official friendly visit here, paid his respects today to Josip Broz Tito. He visited the J. Broz Tito memorial complex in Belgrade and laid flowers there. The Soviet guest honored with a minute of silence the memory of the prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement, the outstanding leader of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Alekandr Vlasov laid a wreath on the monument, on Avala Hill in Belgrade, to the Soviet military leaders who met a tragic death in an air crash in 1964. He also laid flowers on the tomb of the Unknown Hero on Avala Hill near the Yugoslav capital, and honored the memory of those who died in the struggle for the honor and independence of the motherland.

The chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers made a trip to the old town of Kragujevac, a town of great revolutionary traditions. [passage omitted] The Soviet guest visited the 21st October museum and the Sumarica memorial park. [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Vlasov was accompanied on his trip to Kragujevac by Milutin Milosevic, deputy president of the Serbian Assembly Executive Council.

Received by Vice-Premier Mitrovic

LD2709041989 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade September 26 TASS—Russian Federation Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov staying here on an official friendly visit met today Yugoslav Vice-Premier Alexander Mitrovic. The sides concentrated on the further development of all-round Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

They noted that there are now possibilities for expanding economic relations between the two countries. This will help solve the problem of unbalanced payments in trade and economic relations.

The sides noted the interest of the two countries in the broader use of such advanced forms of cooperation as co-production, specialisation, establishment of direct production contacts and setting up of joint ventures.

Romanian Party View on Food, Power Supplies Noted

PM2709145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Political Executive Committee Session"]

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Sep—A session of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee Political Executive Committee has been held here. It was chaired by RCP Secretary General N. Ceausescu.

Its participants considered questions connected with the implementation of the plan targets for September and discussed the plan for October and the fourth quarter of 1989. It was noted that the implementation of plan targets in the aforementioned period had been satisfactory on the whole. The Political Executive Committee paid special attention to the need for the timely production of high-quality products for export.

The Political Executive Committee examined and approved a self-management and self-provision program to ensure satisfactory supplies of agro-industrial sector products and industrial consumer goods for the population in the fourth quarter of 1989. The program envisages a significant increase in supplies of food products for the population. In particular, in the fourth quarter of this year the intention is to double supplies of meat and meat products compared with the corresponding period in 1988.

The Political Executive Committee examined the energy supply program for the 1989-1990 winter period. It was stressed that the continuous operation of power generation facilities must be ensured.

West Europe

Medvedev Receives French Communist Party Chief

LD2709025189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—Today Vadim Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, met Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, who is in the Soviet Union.

In the course of the meeting, which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on certain issues of cooperation between the CPSU and the French Communist Party.

Citizens Group To Discuss Perestroyka in France

AU2709110489 Paris AFP in English 0915 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Paris Sept 27 (AFP)—More than 300 leading partisans of perestroika, the Soviet reform programme, are due to arrive here from Moscow Sunday [1 October] for a week to explain the reform process to the French people.

A delegation of 335 Soviet citizens, including deputies, economists, trade unionists, teachers, artists, doctors, religious leaders and specialists in French language and culture will be in France from October 1 to 8, the organisers of the visit said.

The delegation will be led by candidate politburo member Yevgeniy Primakov and by Vadim Zagladin, advisor to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

All 335 are "deeply involved in perestroika", one of the organisers, Oleg Ivanitsky, told a press conference Tuesday [26 September].

The delegation will be received next Monday [2 October] by President Francois Mitterrand.

Netherlands Trade Official Interviewed on Ties

18250202 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Netherlands Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (Foreign Trade) Yvonne van Rooy by TASS correspondent S. Melnikov: "Business Makes a Choice"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Melnikov] What is your evaluation of the development of the trade and economic relations between the Netherlands and the Soviet Union over recent years?

[Van Rooy] We view the economic reforms in the Soviet Union as a very positive phenomenon. This is the viewpoint of both our government and business circles. Recently, the Dutch private sector has been following the development of events in the USSR with growing interest. For our part, by virtue of our responsibilities, we are trying to inform entrepreneurs. The Economics Ministry annually publishes materials about the economic situation in the countries of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. This gives businessmen the opportunity to have a more complete idea of the situation.

Our imports from the Soviet Union have fallen sharply in the last few years, primarily as the result of a reduction in world oil prices and the decline of the U.S. dollar. You will recall: Our imports from the USSR are 2 billion guldens, with 85 percent of that coming from crude petroleum, and our exports are 800 million. In 1987, our deliveries were reduced significantly; this was caused by an insufficiency of convertible hard currency on the Soviet side. However, the situation improved in 1988. Export operations began to encompass such important trends as industrial goods, machines, and equipment, chemical and agricultural products. As far as the last of those is concerned, its delivery is not yet stable, and it is dependent upon the level of demand in the USSR.

[Melnikov] How is the creation of Soviet-Dutch SPs [sovmestnoye predprinimatelstvo, joint enterprises] viewed in the Netherlands?

[Van Rooy] The Economics Ministry regularly prepares a survey of joint enterprise opportunities in the Soviet Union. The private sector shows greater interest in that form of collaboration, as opposed to state collaboration, viewing SP as the first step on the road to establishing long-term relations. Two such enterprises have been created to this day. Since our private sector remains the major foreign capital investor (the Netherlands is among the world's five leading investor nations), we can expect this interest to grow.

Many Dutch companies are going to follow carefully the activities of the SPs already in existence and to study the experience of Western firms and their satisfaction with the scale of operations. The more positive results there are, the more stimulus there will also be for the creation of new Soviet-Dutch joint productions.

The significance of joint ventures is that they serve the interests of both partners. The Western companies, including the Dutch, have the opportunity to invest their capital, "know-how," management, and experience. But they must also have some advantage from such enterprises. However, as before, the main problems remain the impossibility of transferring profits to the West and the inconvertible ruble. These are serious hindrances for companies which in the future must resolve the matter of creating the SP. Many countries are now actively improving their investment climate at home. The competition among states for attracting foreign capital is increasing sharply. Entrepreneurs will place their investments abroad first and foremost in those places where they have the best prospects for marketing and receiving profits. Of course, the socialist states are also doing a great deal to improve the legislation on SP activity and foreign capital investment. Therefore, Western companies have a rather broad selection.

Of course, profit in rubles may be used to acquire goods on the Soviet market. Everything will depend upon the requirements of concrete firms. In any event, the Dutch Government does not consider this form of compensatory trade to be entirely successful. The best stimulus for the Western countries to create SPs would be the opportunity to convert profits into hard currency.

[Melnikov] Is the USSR just a sales market to the Dutch entrepreneurs, or do they have other interests as well?

[Van Rooy] Traditionally, Dutch businessmen prefer to establish economic relations on a mutually advantageous and long-term basis. Trade is only one form of such relations. Capital investment abroad holds a significant place as well. Our entrepreneurs view this tendency as a basic means of internalizing their activity. They also view the Soviet market from the same corner.

Of course, until the present day, the USSR has been and remains an important market for the Netherlands, although our commodities circulation could grow significantly in the near future, taking into consideration both countries' potential. Without a doubt, we do not look at the USSR merely as a consumer. There are also possibilities for delivering Soviet products to the Netherlands. We are convinced of the necessity for taxing "free trade." This means that you may export only when you are prepared to import. That is why as minister of foreign trade, I must develop exports, but I welcome the expansion of imports from the USSR.

[Melnikov] The opportunities for creating free economic zones [SEZ] in the USSR is a lively topic for discussion in both the Dutch press and business circles. What do you think about them?

[Van Rooy] We would like to direct attention to the fact that economic perestroyka in the Soviet Union in its entirety is a better course for developlment than concentrating on reforms only in individual zones. I also consider it important that the fruits of economic reform be enjoyed by the entire USSR population. In the event of the creation and development of a SEZ, only a limited number of people will benefit. As world experience shows, free economic zones are playing a lesser role today, since governments in many states are even more frequently convinced that the best stimulus for their economic development remains the overall improvement of a country's business and investment climate, and not just improvement in a certain region.

[Melnikov] What difficulties do Dutch businessmen encounter in the Soviet Union?

[Van Rooy] The decentralization of economic activity in the USSR (which in and of itself is an important positive factor allowing the Soviet economy greater flexibility) has created additional complications for Western companies. Until recently, it was enough for businessmen to be in Moscow in order to handle any questions which came up. Now they have to travel across the entire Soviet Union and establish contact with the new firms trying to break into the external market. Even though this complicates the entrepreneurs' work considerably, they must resign themselves to it, since this is common practice in countries with a market economy. I consider it very important that the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry is going to create information centers for Western business people; they will be able to meet with representatives of enterprises and receive well-qualified advice on how to do business in the USSR.

Alas, to repeat, the Soviet Union's lack of hard currency remains a problem, of course. This stimulates the development of compensatory and barter trade, since Dutch business has become accustomed to commerce on the principle that goods are money. The small companies experiencing great difficulties in realizing the goods received in exchange for their export deliveries are falling into a particularly complicated situation, since the goods' cost increases significantly. In the long-term perspective, this does not serve the interests of the Soviet economy either. In my view, these are the main obstacles to development of economic relations between our two countries.

To sum up, I would like to express the hope that the improving contacts between the Soviet Union and the member-countries of the European Economic Community will form the basis for expansion of mutually advantageous collaboration. In 1987, I had the pleasure of visiting the Soviet Union with a representational delegation of business circles on the occasion of a Netherlands trade and industrial exhibition in Moscow. Even at that time, this was testimony to the great interest in the development of the USSR's internal political situation shown by the Dutch private sector, and the opportunities it can offer the Soviet market. At the end of this year, Vice Prime Minister Rudolf de Korte will visit the USSR with a large group of businessmen. I hope that this visit will affect the strengthening of trade and economic relations to the benefit of our two peoples.

Primakov Meets FRG Bundesrat Chairman

LD2709123989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, today met B. Engholm, chairman of the FRG Bundesrat and prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein Land.

The guest was told about the activities, role, and functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet under the new conditions, the course of the fall session of the higher body of state power in the country, and topical problems in the life of Soviet society which are reflected in its work.

Attention was drawn in particular to the problem of conversion and the task of using the intellectual and technical potentials present in the military production sphere with maximum effectiveness for the national economy.

Speaking about the foreign policy activities of the Soviet parliament, the chairman of the chamber confirmed, among other tendencies, the USSR's striving to create a "Common European Home".

We are following with great interest the processes of renewal in the USSR Supreme Soviet, B. Engholm said. We now see that there is a center of democratization of life in the country. We have a very respectful attitude toward these changes and urgently wish to strengthen bilateral interparliamentary contacts.

Having expressed support for the idea of a "Common European Home", the guest noted that it implied the stability of borders, and respect for territorial integrity and the sovereignty of states.

Nishanov-Led Delegation Leaves for Rome

LD2709110689 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation, led by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow for Rome today on an official visit at the invitation of the Italian legislature.

Pugo Meets With Finnish Center Party Group

LD2709092789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1821 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 September (TASS)—A meeting between B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation of the Finnish Center Party [FCP], headed by P. Vaeyrynen, chairman of the party, took place at the CPSU Central Committee today.

There was an exchange of opinions on topical international problems, questions of Soviet-Finnish relations and of further development of contact between the CPSU and the FCP, the 15th anniversary of the establishment of which is marked this year.

B.K. Pugo informed the FCP delegation about the course of perestroyka in the sphere of politics, economics, interethnic relations, dwelling in particular on the decisions of the September 1989 CPSU Central Committee plenum.

There was a high appraisal of the level of the Soviet-Finnish relations. A common view was voiced that M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Finland and his meetings with the country's leaders will give a new and powerful mementum to their development in the interests of strengthening the good-neighbor relations between the peoples of both countries and all-European cooperation. During the course of the conversation which passed off in a friendly atmosphere, the importance was noted of expanding the constructive dialogue between political parties adhering to various ideologies in the interests of peace, disarmament and ecological security.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Welcomes Shevardnadze's Upcoming Visit

LD2709091189 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Managua September 27 TASS—"The forthcoming visit to Nicaragua by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is of outstanding importance", President Daniel Ortega said in an exclusive TASS interview.

"This is the first time that the republic will be visited by such a high-ranking Soviet leader", he noted. "This shows that the Soviet Union, with which we have friendly relations based on mutual respect, is prepared to carry on a very high-level dialogue with Nicaragua at a time when attempts are being made to call in question the relations between our two countries. This visit shows that Soviet-Nicaraguan relations are at a good level".

"The forthcoming negotiations testify to the Soviet Union's political desire to continue its cooperation with Nicaragua and to support the republic within the frameworks of the peace process in Central America. They are proof of our reciprocal desire to uphold peace in the region".

"During the negotiations with Eduard Shevardnadze", Daniel Ortega pointed out, "we are bound to discuss international problems. The USSR and Nicaragua will exchange views on steps to establish peace in Central America.

"We shall also discuss our bilateral relations in order to develop and strengthen them still further. We need to bring our commercial, economic, scientific, technological and other cooperative efforts in line with indepth changes now occurring in the USSR".

"We know", Daniel Ortega noted, "that the 1990 plan for economic and social development, as well as the state budget, are now being discussed in the USSR, and that the plan for the next five-year plan period is not yet the order of the day. In considering our economic cooperation we must bear this in mind", the Nicaraguan president said. "It is important", he noted, "that the USSR has the political desire to further its relations with Nicaragua, thereby contributing to the republic's development".

Commentary on 'Panamanian Resistance' Interview

PY2109145389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0330 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Television Channel 7 in Costa Rica has aired an interview with a self-styled representative of the so-called Panamanian resistance. This interview has created a strange impression and has elicited contradictory reactions.

The press has reported that David, the name used by the representative in question, is merely an alias. He never once faced the cameras. He did show, however, his true political colors. The fake David came across as a rabid anticommunist and stated that he had been a member of the Nicaraguan resistance and had fought against Castro.

According to David, the so-called Panamanian resistance has 1,200 volunteers who will shortly launch an armed struggle to overthrow General Manuel Antonio Noriega as commander of the Panamanian Defense Forces. Speaking Spanish with a Latin American accent, David bragged that Noriega's days are numbered.

The Spanish news agency EFE decided to learn some more about this and got in touch with certain Costa Rican politicians. The latter told EFE that the communique released by the fake David could be merely a maneuver by the Panamanian regime aimed at justifying its actions against the opposition which says that it has made it very clear that it plans to use only peaceful means against the Panamanian Government. The latter claim is arguable:

1. The Panamanian opposition is hardly as harmless as it claims to be. We could mention the disturbances that the opposition goons created during the so-called national cruzade prior to and during the elections, forcing the government to anull the elections.

2. None of the opposition parties or groups can supply firm evidence that the government has used force against its opponents. Even in the United States, the country that brags that it is the model of democracy, the Watergate affair is far from being the only case of its kind.

In view of the widespread belief that General Noriega is staging a provocation against the Panamanian opposition, we would like to draw our listeners' attention to one aspect of the interview with the fake David. He said that his armed gang is training in specific locations in Panama, that it has no bases in Costa Rica and that he is legally in Costa Rica. However, it is well known that Costa Rican laws expressly forbid any organization that advocates terrorist actions against [word indistinct] governments from remaining in Costa Rican territory. Therefore, David lied. Why did he lie? Obviously to sow confusion.

Lately the Costa Rican press has been reporting that [word indistinct] agents are training mercenaries in this country, to later launch them against Panama's legitimate government. For [words indistinct] years now the Yankee government has been directing all its might at Panama, seeking to overthrow its government and topple Noriega from his military post. So far it has been unsuccessful. In view of this, it seems that it became necessary to use CIA mercenaries, one of whom is this David person.

Supreme Soviet Session

Committees, Commissions Work Separately 27 Sep

LD2709090889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 27 Sep

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today the study and discussion of the country's draft state plan and draft state budget for 1990 are being conducted separately in the committees of the Supreme Soviet and the commissions of its chambers. The commission on the USSR's planning, budget, and finance is working in the session hall of the chambers in the Kremlin. Today the deputies have invited representatives from the Ministry of Finance, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the State Bank, and a number of state committees of the USSR and commissions of the Council of Ministers, for report-backs and reports.

In the Oktyabrskiy Hall of the House of the Unions, the Commission on Issues of Labor, prices, and Social Policy is discussing issues of social development and of increasing the people's standard of living.

Other committees and commissions are working in the session halls of the RSFSR House of Soviets at 4 Kalinin Avenue and in the Moskva Hotel.

Joint Session To Resume 2 Oct

LD2609173589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] As you know, USSR Finance Minister Comrade Pavlov presented a report on the country's draft state budget for 1990 yesterday. Today, at the end of the sitting, he answered numerous questions from deputies. The Supreme Soviet decided to forward the draft plan and budget for consideration by commissions and committees.

At the end of the sitting, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev proposed acceptance of deputies' suggestions on the issue that had arisen in connection with Deputy Yeltsin's trip to the United States, and the press coverage of that trip. A deputies' commission has been formed. It will report on the results of the Supreme Soviet's work. In the next few days, work will take place in commissions and committees. The next joint sitting of the Supreme Soviet chambers is scheduled for Monday, 2 October.

Moscow Radio on 26 Sep Supreme Soviet Proceedings

26 Sep: 1500 GMT

LD2609163289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 26 September begins broadcasting a recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Gorbachev begins the session by greeting the deputies. He notes that today's session will include the first reading on amendment and additions to the Law on Cooperatives. Gorbachev gives the floor to Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers from his report.

At 1501 GMT Abalkin says two topics will be discussed, cooperatives and taxation regulation. He notes that experience of the last 18 months and world trends in the cooperative movement need to be taken account here. Abalkin stresses the need to overcome trends toward state orientation of the economy and the need to overcome negative trends in other matters. He itemizes three basic principles of the development of the cooperative movement. He surveys the cooperative movement operating in China and in the GDR. He then stresses the need to adopt equal conditions for economic administration. He notes one basic principle is taking account of national traditions and rights of republican and local soviets in solving problems connected with development of the cooperative movement. Abalkin refers to the previous Supreme Soviet session, where there was discussion about the tax system for cooperatives.

At 1509 GMT Abalkin details the recent changes in the cooperative movement. He looks at the contribution of collective and state farms to the movement. He continues by comparing the volume of goods and services in the movement for 1987 and 1988. He cites other figures for development of other spheres of the cooperative movement.

26 Sep: 1510 GMT

LD2609165889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1510 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1513 GMT Abalkin continues his report on the cooperative movement. He notes cooperatives occupy less than 2.9 percent of the share of trade turnover. Abalkin says the cooperative movement is having a greater impact on the development of the national economy; citing examples of cooperative development in certain areas. He speaks about their contribution to the development of the socialist market.

At 1518 GMT Abalkin discusses in detail the negative trends in the movement, such as speculation, lack of competition, and increased dissatisfaction about the "incorect activity" of many cooperatives. He gives examples of such activity in Moscow Oblast, Kami Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Tyumen, and Chita Oblasts.

At 1523 GMT Abalkin says an end must be put to activities of some executive workers and other officials in the movement, which are affecting its development. He notes there are times we blame the cooperatives for things that are not really their fault but are the fault of the economy as a whole. He points to the case of huge amounts of food and vegetables, which are left to spoil. Abalkin refers to the "image of an enemy," which does not only apply to foreign policy but to the economy as well. He says there is a tendency to find scapegoats for shortcomings in this sphere, but that we must not let our emotions hold sway.

At 1530 GMT Abalkin speaks on the draft laws, which are up for discussion. He refers to the 23 August meeting of the Council of Ministers, then details the need to enhance the role of local soviets in regulating the cooperative movement. He says these questions should be examined by special deputy commissions. Abalkin explains that where cooperatives are formed at enterprises and organizations, the agreement of that enterprise is required for their registration.

Abalkin then moves on to the probems of lease-contracting, financing local development budgets, and widening their rights in foreign-economic activity. He concludes his report at 1539 GMT following a brief discussion of taxation and the adopted decision.

At 1540 GMT Gorbachev thanks Abalkin for his report. Abalkin then says he has a note from someone about wholesale prices. He refers to another question about cooperatives and the interests of people in micro-rayons, saying this is a matter for the local deputies.

At 1543 GMT Abalkin continues to give replies to detailed written questions concerning construction matters, price-fixing, and other issues.

At 1548 GMT Gorbachev interrupts Abalkin to mention the experience and system of cooperatives in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Gorbachev says the main issue is that we must sort out the problems regarding shortages here at the Supreme Soviet and find answers to them.

At 1552 GMT Abalkin pleads for commonsense and wisdom in tackling this problem. He continues reading out written questions. These refer to predicting the development of the cooperative movement in 1990, the problem of benefits for the disabled, rights of cooperatives in individual areas, taxation, wages, and other matters. Abalkin stresses that problems of the kind he has been asked to speak on can be resolved by the local soviets, noting they do not have to be resolved by the Supreme Soviet. As he reads out further questions on whether the komsomol and similar organizations will receive tax privileges, he points out that it is not possible to resolve all problems.

At 1610 GMT Abalkin cites an example of a successful cooperative which had taken on the debts and the state order of a former state enterprise and which had flourished, providing medical and other services for its workers. He then returns to the rights of local soviets, referring to the law which delineates these. He points out that it had been decided that it was impossible to dictate from the center all aspects of the work of cooperatives in Kuybyshev, for example. He notes there are different problems in different regions.

At 1619 GMT Abalkin reads out a question concerning the possible effects of cooperative prices on enterprises, which have dealings with them. He says this matter relates to the general framework which he has just been discussing. In response to a question about his attitude toward setting up a commission on cooperatives he says you cannot set up a commission on every subject. Abalkin concludes at 1623 GMT.

26 Sep: 1624 GMT

LD2609175289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1624 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1624 GMT Anatoliy Lukyanov hands the floor to Deputy Alekseyev, who stresses that this agenda item on cooperatives is not merely an economic matter but a political matter as well. He notes that as the negative aspects of cooperatives have grown, so have people's emotions on the subject. He says these emotions have substituted for a mature approach toward the matter. Alekseyev says the Supreme Soviet should favor civilized cooperatives and should act severely toward all who exert bad influences in this area, noting the time for separating state and cooperative coordination is long overdue.

At 1629 GMT Alekseyev discusses noncash transfers for cooperatives' operation; he says a catalogue of prices for basic goods needs to be considered. He requests that ideas on this subject should be sent to his parliamentary committee on issues of legislation, legality, and law and order during this week.

At 1630 GMT Deputy Shapovalenko takes the floor and speaks of the cooperatives ability to purchase at state prices. He asks why the state is allowed to give a bad deal to the people, but not to the cooperatives.

At 1635 GMT Deputy Sukhov takes the floor; he reminds deputies that cooperatives first arose during the New Economic Plan period when there were no jobs so cooperatives were created to provide them. He noted that the state now has many enterprises short of manpower and notes that it seems everything is being handed over to the cooperatives. Sukhov says he is not against cooperatives but he is against those who have created the conditions where there is nothing in the stores.

At 1641 GMT Deputy Sobchak takes the floor; he asks who can end the operation of cooperatives. He says there is a wave of legal violations across the country and proposes that an executive committee close a cooperative in the event of its inability to pay or if it makes a loss. He puts forward a proposal aiming to correlate the taxation of cooperative and state enterprise workers. He notes that to a large extent, the distortions regarding the operation of cooperatives are down to the failure of state bodies to exert their authority. He asks why the measures proscribed by the law are not applied.

At 1649 GMT Deputy Semukha takes the floor; he blames the state bodies and the passive operation of the local soviets for the situation which has arisen regarding the cooperatives.

At 1650 GMT Gorbachev announces an interval.

At 1652 GMT the recording continues; Deputy Kryuchenkova takes the floor. She speaks of the shortcomings in accounting for the funds and the taxation of cooperatives. She says she does not know how the country can get along without cooperatives, regardless of their shortcomings.

At 1654 GMT Deputy Orlov takes the floor. Speaking about the principles of taxing cooperatives, he agrees, to an extent with previous speakers, but reminds deputies that to close a cooperative because it is loss-making would be unwise, because this could happen on a temporary basis. He also warns against subjectivism in deciding such matters. He speaks about relations between the taxation of the cooperatives and the wages of their members. He notes the great dynamism of the growth of the income of cooperatives.

At 1708 GMT the floor is given to Deputy Khmura. He examines who in fact has joined the cooperatives saying these people were speculators. He says this has aroused among people. Khmura proposes closing cooperatives which are buying goods and selling them for higher prices. He draws an example from his own experience and compares the profits from this activity with his own deputy's wage. He canot understand the attitude of the press and the economists aimed at increasing profits, saying the committee on prices should be adopted as soon as possible, he says. He proposes that the law contains a clause which would enable the people's deputies to regulate cooperative prices.

At 1713 GMT Deputy Yarin taks the floor. He turns to Abalkin and says that the USSR Council of Ministers had proposed a law which will infringe on man's right to seek honest work. Presumably, Abalkin is referring to the law on cooperatives. He says that Abalkin is held in high respect but is disappointed that Abalkin failed to answer the question about his own attitude toward this draft law. He wants to know what his and the government's view is on the All-Union Central Council on Trade Union statement. He blames the leadership, "the esteemed academicians," including Abalkin for introducing capitalism.

26 Sep: 1714 GMT

LD2609191489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1714 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Yarin continues speaking. He says he is worried that people are not told the full truth; he gives his support to the views expressed by Sobchak and others.

At 1720 GMT Deputy Likhanov takes the floor. He says he would like to speak about cooperatives in postive terms. He notes that a cooperative from Moscow had transferred a considerable amount of money to the children's fund. He proposes to include an amendement in the law which would represent a tax relief for those cooperatives donating funds to charity, saying cooperatives which are helping local soviets should enjoy more advantages.

At 1724 GMT Deputy Kim takes the floor. Kim calls for closing down hotel cooperatives and cooperatives that deal with trading and reselling goods. He says cooperatives should not use hired workforce, only members of cooperatives. He proposes to include amendments of this nature in the draft law. He also proposes that the leaders of sociopolitical organizations are banned from entering cooperatives.

At 1728 GMT Deputy Bocharov takes the floor. He notes it is good that exchange of views on cooperatives took place today. He says that Abalkin's speech explained the problem but that today we cannot examine this draft law without other laws, as they are interconnected. He notes it will be a matter for the committees to examine the law in connection with other submitted laws, such as the law on taxation.

At 1735 GMT Deputy Kozyrev takes the floor. On the draft of the law he notes that he is not quite clear on its provision on land ownership. He speaks about legal position of hired labor in the cooperatives. He says that the state should set up a system for hired labor in cooperatives.

At 1740 GMT Gorbachev speaks about a note which he had and which said that the summer session was unproductive in its discussion. He says that this is only the first reading and proposes to either halt the session or to carry on until lunch break, since there are still a number of people who wish to speak. The deputies wish to go on until lunchtime.

At 1742 GMT the floor is taken by Deputy Korshunov. He believes Bocharov's observations are correct. He says that if the bill is adopted it will still have to be discussed later. He says the question now discussed is not an emotional matter, it is necessary that the USSR Supreme Soviet discusses it thoroughly. He agrees with Yarin on the absence of USSR Council of Ministers' pronouncement on the AUCCTU plenum. We do not need separate laws on cooperation and taxation, but a good law on enterprise, which would function properly and where people would earn good money, he says. If the Supreme Soviet does not satisfactorily resolve this question, cooperation might disappear. The USSR trade unions are undergoing a kind of crisis but are now slowly returning to their function of defending working man. He criticizes Abalkin for omitting this matter. He agrees with the idea of cooperation, saying it should, however, be an additional production, rather than activity reducing an amount of food on the table.

At 1751 GMT the floor passes to Deputy Saparov. He is worried about the crisis in the cooperative movement. He illustrates this on his own experience when he was overcharged by a cooperative taxi-driver. Despite some overpricing there are cooperatives which are very much needed, he says. Saparov says Abalkin forgot to say that the contribution of cooperatives to the national economy is, in fact, quite low.

At 1755 GMT the floor is given to Deputy Petrushenko. He says 256 people in the auditorium have academic status, and there are many with military status. He says the work on labor income does not work properly in the USSR. He speaks about cooperatives in Kazakhstan and their inability to feed the republic. He proposes that leading workers should not work in cooperatives. He proposes setting up a commission to "combat the mafia" by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The assembly applauds. On foreign economic activity of cooperation he notes that Abalkin has little idea on how foreign currency is used by the cooperatives.

At 1802 GMT Deputy Popov is scheduled to take the floor now. Gorbachev tells another deputy that he will not be able to speak next. The deputy agrees. Popov says the decision on developing cooperation must be adopted. He discusses role of people's controllers in this matter.

At 1805 GMT Gorbachev ask Abalkin to comment on remarks put to him by previous speakers on laws of socialist enterprise and on cooperatives and the need to examine them in detail. Gorbachev notes their importance, as the final quarter of the year is about to start. He says other questions will be discussed in the commissions and committees. Gorbachev looks at the AUCCTU plenum's attitude toward the Law on Cooperatives. This is not an ideal law, he says, we must calmly weigh all the plusses and minuses of what we have been discussing and we must clearly realize that public opinion is by no means always without blemish. He says previous polls have indicated great differences in public's attitudes toward aspects of the cooperative movement.

At 1813 GMT Gorbachev says a group of deputies have asked for votes to be taken on the closure of certain cooperatives and to fix certain prices, also on closure of cooperatives selling goods higher than those proposed by the state. Gorbachev lists the deputies who have asked for this vote.

At 1815 GMT Gorbachev continues to refer back to speeches by certain deputies and points raised in them. He says we must decide the question of publication of the law. Another proposal has been made on adopting a decision on publishing the law and to present it for examination by the Supreme Soviet. He notes the first reading refers only to the amendments. He says discussion can be continued in the committees, and asks if a vote should be taken. The deputies favor a vote.

At 1819 GMT a deputy makes an indistinct request about procedure.

At 1820 GMT the electronic voting system is used for determining how many Supreme Soviet members have registered, there are 466. A vote is taken on adopting the law at the first reading: 70 against; 26 abstained. A break is announced.

26 Sep: 1825 GMT

LD2609201389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1825 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1825 GMT Gorbachev resumes the session, saying the unfinished work will be completed. He says the group of deputies' note concerning closure of certain cooperatives beginning 1 October 1989 is up for discussion.

At 1828 GMT Deputy Aleksey takes the floor and calls for "commonsense" in the matter. The assembly applauds. Gorbachev calls on Abalkin to speak again.

At 1829 GMT Abalkin says that in principle he is not opposed to Alekseyev's proposal but says that individual republics should themselves decide on the question of closing down cooperatives.

At 1830 GMT Gorbachev makes the point that certain cooperatives in Leningrad are the subject of possible closure. Gorbachev, then puts to the vote the question of closing certain cooperatives before 1 October. A problem on deputies' registration is noted; Gorbachev says there are now 469 deputies registered. He repeats the proposal being put to a vote. He asks for voting to commence. After seeing there is a problem in the electronic voting machines, Gorbachev says the majority favor turning the proposal down. He asks who is in favor of reviewing the proposal in 1 week. This suggestion is passed in the majority, according to an aside remark made by Lukyanov. No figures are given from the count.

At 1838 GMT the voting takes place on the second proposal on closure of cooperatives fixing prices above state recommendations. Unidentified deputies make various indistinct comments. Another unidentified deputy wants it clarified which cooperatives are being discussed in this second proposal.

At 1841 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy says that the question has not been put clearly enough for a vote to be taken on it. He notes it should be studied in committees and in the Council of Ministers, and then a proper vote can be taken. He says it is too serious a matter for spontaneous decisions to be made. He is supported by another unidentified deputy.

At 1844 GMT Deputy Shekhovtsov says there should be more discussion on this matter, particularly on price-fixing.

At 1845 GMT Deputy Gritsenko calls for commissions and committees to decide this matter. Another unidentified deputy refers to problems of war veterans on pension and criticizes the policy of speculation in certain areas.

At 1847 GMT Gorbachev says that the vote should not be put to the vote but asks deputies if they think it should be passed over to the commissions. It is put to the vote: three against, 13 abstained. It is proposed that the question be passed to the commissions.

At 1851 GMT Gorbachev clarifies something that Sobchak referred to in an earlier address. Deputy Boykov also refers to Sobchak's remarks on lease-contracting and calls for decision on wage-fixing.

At 1855 GMT Abalkin returns to the rostrum to talk about taxes and how they can fairly be fixed according to wage increments.

At 1859 GMT Gorbachev interjects on the procedure for dealing with the matters under discussion. Abalkin stresses how difficult the whole issue is because of the great diversity of problems.

At 1900 GMT an unidentified deputy speaks about leasing and the problems the discussions today could pose for leaseholders. Abalkin responds. Another deputy seeks clarification on the kinds of enterprises being discussed. Abalkin lists the various kinds of enterprises, which, he says, are all contained in the document under discussion to ensure that no one is left out.

At 1905 GMT Deputy Kiseleva gives the example of her own enterprise which supplies raw materials and which, apparently, is not embraced by the proposal. Abalkin reminds everyone that this is a complex issue. Another deputy speaks, saying that this really is an issue which must be thought out.

At 1910 GMT an unidentified deputy appeals for this matter to be properly considered in committee. Abalkin reassures deputies that no one's wages will to be docked. He speaks about the way in which increments are not to be taxed and in which circumstances.

At 1915 GMT Deputy Blayev speaks about the taxation of industrial products and building materials.

At 1918 GMT Abalkin says that a lot of questions are emerging. He reviews what the issue is all about and asks what it was that hindered production in the past.

At 1919 GMT an unidentified deputy again asks for the matter to be remitted to the committee. Another deputy agrees. He warns against seeking to freeze wages while prices continue to rise, saying workers would contest this. Abalkin speaks and, when asked by Gorbachev, says that he will be happy to discuss the matter further to see how best to apply the measure.

At 1924 GMT Deputy Smirnov speaks, expressing his reservations. Abalkin says the growth in incomes in the scientific sector for the first half of the year was 36-40 percent. Gorbachev intervenes and cites a conversation he had there with an engineer whose income had increased threefold.

At 1929 GMT an unidentified deputy says he fears the Supreme Soviet made the issue too simple and advocates a more differentiated approach. Abalkin again speaks of the need to adopt a uniform approach to all forms of property, one tax for all.

At 1934 GMT Deputy Podziruk speaks briefly about wage increases before being asked to sit down by Gorbachev. Another deputy and then Deputy Zubanov speak on the timescale for implementing any restraint on wages and tax. He advocates a gradual approach accompanied by the stimulation of consumer goods production in the country. Abalkin reminds deputies that what is under discussion is a fundamentally new law on taxation.

At 1940 GMT Deputy Klibik speaks and raises issue on services. Abalkin says that local soviets should contribute to a greater degree to meeting demand to services. He quotes the taxation provision on these services.

26 Sep: 1941 GMT

LD2609221689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1941 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet Session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1942 GMT Deputy Komarovskaya says she believes wine should not be returned to store shelves, since it is no longer classed as a consumer good. She is from Moldavia, a wine-producing region. Abalkin corrects here, saying wine is classed as a consumer good.

At 1943 GMT Abalkin talks about the fact that only wages increments are to be taxed. He answers another question concerning taxation and notes that the government will discuss the question of income indexation. He explains how this concept should function and notes that it is necessary to introduce it because of the need to avert inflation and halt growing deficit.

At 1947 GMT Gorbachev thanks Abalkin and notes the enormous public response to this issue. In view of the concerns voiced, he says that differences exist.

At 1950 GMT Gorbachev proposes to vote on continuing the debate. The voting takes place; no figures are given. Gorbachev announces the end of debate.

At 1952 GMT Gorbachev proposes voting on the addition of preserving equal conditions in taxation. He then says that this addition should be voted on later, perhaps on 2 October.

At 1955 GMT a vote on accepting the draft takes place; the draft proposal is adopted.

At 1956 GMT Gorbachev asks Minister of Finance Pavlov to answer questions.

At 1957 GMT Pavlov takes the floor. He answers a question on how much money has been allocated for the elimination of the consequences of Chernobyl. This is a matter for discussion and it will be examined later.

At 1958 GMT Pavlov answers questions on taxation of farming produce and defense expenditures. He notes that expenditure on agriculture is growing and gives figures. Pavlov answers Podziruk's question of whether the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in the next fiscal year, will be a milking cow for other republics. We have no milking cows, he answers. He answers a question on coal prices and their relationship to miners' wages. He says strikes have damaged the coal situation. Pavlov says a financial autonomy mechanism which would increase wages in relations to production should be set up.

Pavlov continues, answering questions on expenditure on the film industry, state acceptance, and anti-alcohol measures to be adopted next year. He notes expenditure on health care and social security is 16 percent of the budget. He explains how the Ministry of Finance is financed and how this ministry views the mushrooming of administration bodies in various organizations.

At 2010 GMT, Pavlov answers a question on when and how the wages of local Soviet workers will be raised. He responds to a question on how to write off the debts of collective farms. He said that R58,000 million of debt have been postponed until the year 2005. He notes the work to-date done in this respect was incorrect.

At 2013 GMT Deputies Shevchenko and Miroshchenko say that local Soviets will be functioning properly only with their own financial basis. Pavlov agrees and says that this will be implemented.

At 2015 GMT Deputy Yablokov and others want separate expenditure items allocated to ecology. Pavlov draws examples of individual enterprises which received funds for this purpose.

At 2017 GMT Pavlov discusses the role of the anti-alcohol campaign in the growth of inflation. Pavlov gives figures on alcohol sales and consumption per capita. Consumption of vodka has been reduced from roughly 10 to 6 litres per capita, he says. He notes that the revenue from alcohol sales has dropped and says that as for sugar this year about 8 million tonnes of sugar will be sold. He notes that the sales are basically at the same level as in 1984.

At 2020 GMT Pavolv hears a question on social security coming from Kazakhstan; he says it will be answered later.

26 Sep: 2021 GMT

LD2609223589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 2021 GMT on 26 September continues its recording of the 26 September USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 2021 GMT Deputy Pavlov hears a question from Petrushenko on a nonferrous mine in Kazakhstan which is part of Leninogorsk mining combine and which he says inflicts serious ecological damage. He notes that this is to be discussed with the combine. Pavlov then takes questions on consumer cooperatives. He says consumer cooperatives receive 757 million rubles. The timeframe for this figure is not given. Pavlov notes that this sum is more than is received by any other organization from the state budget. He then answers questions on expenditures on fire protection and law enforcement.

Pavlov concludes by answering questions on discrimination against women in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, production of goods for children, and on the Kharanor power station. Pavlov says the power station's construction has been postponed.

At 2032 GMT Gorbachev interjects and asks Pavlov not to read out repetitive questions.

At 2033 GMT, after a brief break in the audio Gorbachev proposes to hand the draft of the plan and budget for examination by a commission.

At 2034 GMT voting on this proposal takes place.

At 2035 GMT Gorbachev proposes that the issue of former Afghan fighters be transferred to the next session.

At 2036 GMT Gorbachev proposes to establish a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet to investigate Yeltsin's trip to the U.S. He proposes the names of members of the commission; these include Academician Velikhov.

At 2037 GMT Deputy Medvedev says he is already a member of 5 commissions; he demands that his name be excluded. Gorbachev says this is not in line with discussed issue. Another deputy proposes to include in this commission one of the members of the commission on glasnost. Another unidentified deputy speaks about glasnost promulgated by the PRAVDA article. Gorbachev interrupts and says that it is not necessary to behave as if "we were hit by an earthquake." A discussion about the composition of the commission continues.

At 2038 GMT Gorbachev proposes a vote on this issue. The vote is carried out. The result is not broadcast. Gorbachev says the question has been resolved and concludes by saying, "We will meet here on Monday at 1000" [0700 GMT]. The recording concludes at this point.

Further Reportage on 26 Sep Proceedings

Meeting Summarized

LD2609193189 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

One of the new forms of economic management in the USSR, cooperatives, became the subject of an acute debate today at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is in its second day in Moscow.

Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the amendments and supplements prepared by the government to the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR.

Noting cooperatives' growing role in the country's economy, Academician Abalkin emphasised they are making the first step towards forming a socialist market.

Meanwhile, unequal conditions for economic management in the state and cooperative sectors, and the destabilisation of the consumer market resulted in the negative phenomena in the activity of cooperatives, specifically, in the growth of abuse and speculation. In order to eradicate these negative phenomena the government, specifically, proposes to enhance the role of local soviets of people's deputies in the regulation of the cooperative movement and create equal conditions for the activity of cooperative and state-run businesses.

After an acute debate, the USSR Supreme Soviet endorsed during the first reading the fundamental provisions of the draft suggested by the government and referred it to parliamentary committees and commissions for further debating and refinement.

At the evening meeting deputies endorsed the government's draft resolution on measures for the regulation of the growth of wages of members of cooperatives, of organisations of lease-holding and workers of enterprises of other public organisations.

The USSR Supreme Soviet also endorsed a resolution to refer the draft state plan and budget of the USSR for 1990 for the discussion in committees and commissions.

On deputies' proposal Soviet parliament then formed a commission on matters that arose in connection with the coverage by the press of the U.S. tour by People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin.

Work in parliamentary committees and commissions will continue tomorrow.

Chernobyl, Yeltsin, PRAVDA Discussed

LD2709004289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pavlov] The question about what sum was allocated for the elimination of the consequences of Chernobyl was answered by Comrade Voronin. I don't think that there is any point in repeating oneself, but there is a letter on this same issue.... [bell rings]

[Unidentified speaker] I ask you, comrades, to preserve the working mood.

[Pavlov]...from more than 50 deputies from the Supreme Soviet and then there are also individual letters on this issue. The letters, the essence of this question, or as it were the asking of the question is that comrades consider that spending on eliminating the consequences of the accident in the area of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station demands special attention, as it worries people and the plans and budgets on it should have been allocated separately. I think that we, in general, have no special objections against this, how to do it just needs to be worked on, because a significant proportion of spending is conducted according to an estimate and is carried out by different bodies taking part in this business. Military construction detachments, must not be torn away from the spending with how much they are doing at Chernobyl, and how much, as it were, is being given in other places. That is, the issue needs to be worked on technically, but in principle, it does not arouse any doubts with us. There is an issue, just to open to question, which must be considered in the future as well as during the course of drawing up the plan and the budget. Some comrades are speaking out about the fact that the sums that are envisioned and have been named by Lev Alekseyevich of 700 million are rather small. Well, this must be looked at—how much we are in a position to do and how much is needed. [passage omitted]

A question, then, from Comrade Nazarenko, about defense spending for which the current upkeep is 20,440,000,000 whereas he remembers the figure of 77.3 billion. The thing is that I really named the current upkeep and then went through the headings, but if all spending is being spoken about, then it comprises R79.9 billion. [passage omitted]

Comrade Bushuyev, Novosibirsk, then speaks about the fact that apportionment of subsidies for increasing coalminers' pay, thousands of millions of rubles, will provoke analogous demands from workers in other branches. Well, I must tell you that it has already provoked them, so it's not a question of whether it will provoke them. Would it not be better, at the expense of changing coal prices, to give the miners the opportunity of earning the necessary resources by increasing their labor renumeration fund? When there are insufficient resources for helping the low-paid strata of the population how can the generosity, in quotes, of the Ministry of

Finance in the allocation of more than 200 million for the professorial and teaching staff of higher education establishments be explained?

Well, as far as the miners are concerned, I think that it is not a matter of raising prices and an increase in prices in itself will not bring any good to the national economy. If we raise the price of coal, then electrical power will rise in price and the chain has started. Nothing is gained in the country from this. What is being spoken about is that in principle all the losses from the strike—if we do not want to hit our living standards further with strikes—must be worked off at the expense of an increase in production and the establishment of more organized work.

How do we officially register all of this production, through prices or direct allocations? Well how? We will discuss how it is technically correct to do it on this occasion. I think that what is of course being spoken about is that the mechanism needs to be made financially autonomous, where the monetary income of the producers would also increase when there is an increase in real production. In coal industry, there is unfortunately none of this yet because coal is unprofitable in our country. [passage omitted]

[Gorbachev] On your proposal the following decision is being put forward:

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves the deputies' proposal to form a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet for questions that have arisen with the coverage in the press of the trip to the United States of America by USSR people's deputy Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is to be adopted.

Second, a commission is to be formed, made up as follows:
Denisov, chairman of the commission, professor, city of Leningrad;
Members of the commission:
Comrades Bobyleva, director of the Odoyev secondary school, Tula Oblast;
Penyagin, worker at the Chelyabinsk electrometallurgical combine;
Lubenchenko, reader at the Moscow State University, Moscow;
Piryazeva, worker at the Sibselmash production association, Novosibirsk;
Velikhov, academician, city of Moscow;
Shamshev, senior teacher at Yaroslavl University.

What do you think, comrades? Are there any objections? [shouts of approval]

Now, Comrade Medvedev, get ready.

[Medvedev] I am already a member of five commissions and I think that a stop must be put to the list of my participation in these commissions.

[Gorbachev] I think that this isn't all that [Medvedev begins to list commissions] I think that the work involved isn't all that exhausting.

[Medvedev] Well, how many commissions can one be on?

[Gorbachev] Good. There is a request to speak.

[(Popyezerov]) (Popyezerov). I propose that one of the members of the Committee for Glasnost, Citizens' Rights and Appeals be included in this commission.

[Gorbachev] Let's include the chairman. Foteyev? [shouts of approval] Comrade Foteyev it is. Comrade Medvedev?

[Medvedev] I wanted to say that the activities of PRAVDA in the past half-year period have not been conducive to lowering tension in interethnic relations, but on the contrary, in a number of cases have complicated the tension, you understand. We have a very difficult time of it explaining locally why PRAVDA was writing in this way and not differently.

[Gorbachev] I think that this subject has already come up. A recommendation can be made to the editorial, to the editorial college of PRAVDA, to meet with deputies and that's it.

[Medvedev] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] In my view that is how we must deal with anything that comes up. Then, let's...[points to Lubenchenko] I don't see any special reason.

[Unidentified male] Well let's include Foteyev instead of Lubenchenko.

[Gorbachev] Foteyev instead of Lubenchenko? All right? [shouts of approval] And there is no further need to widen the commission? [shouts of agreement] Comrade [name indistinct]?

[Unidentified male] [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Many more can be included. You can be included, but I think that the commission need not be widened, comrades. It is not necessary to set up something, so to speak, as if we were struck by something like an earthquake.

[Unidentified deputy] The point is that this commission will have to come up against the editorial college and that it does not include a single professional journalist.

[Gorbachev] I think that the level at which the commission has been formed is very high.

[Deputy] Well, okay.

[Gorbachev] It will try. [word indistinct] Then, with the following change: instead of Comrade Lubenchenko, Foteyev, and further all other comrades are left. I ask you to vote for the adoption of this adoption of this decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The question has been resolved. Comrades, we have a lot of work ahead of us in the committees and commissions. We will meet here again Monday at 1000. [0700 GMT 2 October].

Development of Cooperatives Promoted

LD2609161189 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 26 Sep 89

["Soviet Cooperative Law Survives Parliamentary Mauling"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet, which today heard the first reading of a government-submitted draft law on amendments to the law on cooperatives, set the task of promoting the development of cooperatives.

Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin delivered a report on this issue at the morning sitting.

The acuteness of the subsequent discussion reflected the differing attitudes to the cooperative movement, which have developed in society.

Apart from the understanding of the efficiency of many forms of cooperatives, there also exists the view that a tough, power approach to this form of management, new for the Soviet economy, is needed.

Speaking about this, Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Legislation, Legality and Law and Order, said that the problem of cooperatives has exceeded purely economic borders, acquired an acute socio-political nature and requires a balanced approach in solving it.

He pointed to the rise of profiteering and other negative phenomena in the cooperative movement and to the growth of a "purely emotional" approach to the problem from people who go as far as demanding repressive measures.

Alekseyev said that the Supreme Soviet should support the development of cooperatives and at the same time take measures to remove distortions in the movement.

Many deputies said that indignation at the cooperative movement in society has reached its limit, and proposed shutting down many cooperatives, specifically, commercial ones.

There were proposals to enhance the role of local Soviets (councils) in regulating cooperative activities. It was pointed out that many violations in the movement were due to the inability or unwillingness of local authorities to use their means of influence on this form of economic activities.

Some deputies criticised the draft law. Veniamin Yarin from the Urals said that the Council of Ministers had not taken into account the opinion of Soviet trade unions on distortions in the cooperative movement, expressed at a recent meeting of their central council.

The deputy said that the government and economists, who worked out the draft, "only legalise the plunder of men of labour."

Nikolay Kozyrev from the Ukraine disagreed, saying that discussions at the Supreme Soviet should be based on a legal foundation, rather than on emotions.

Answering deputies' remarks, Abalkin said that trade unions and other public organisations have the right to legislative initiative.

However, in this case, trade unions did not use this right to submit alternative draft amendments to the law on cooperatives.

At the end of the morning sitting, the Supreme Soviet approved the main provisions of the government's draft in the first reading by a majority vote and instructed parliamentary committees and commissions to develop it and then submit it to parliament.

The session continued its work in the afternoon.

Cooperatives Discussion Continues

LD2609175389 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today's evening meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet started with the discussion of a proposal of a group of deputies to close down all the trading-and-purchasing and mediating cooperatives and to set a limit on prices of cooperatives' products.

Deputies referred to widespread discontent with the activity of such cooperatives, which leads quite often to the unjustifiable growth of prices.

Many deputies did not agree with this way of resolving the problem. Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the parliamentary committee for legislation, legality and law-and-order, emphasised there is no room for hasty decisions, that all aspects of the cooperative movement should be thoroughly analysed.

Besides that, deputies noted that the main role in the regulation of the activity of cooperatives should be played by local soviets, not by central authorities.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, by a majority vote, referred this proposal to its committees and commissions for further study.

Then the session discussed and endorsed the draft law, submitted by the country's government, on measures for the regulation of wage increases for members of cooperatives, of organisations of lease-holders and employees of enterprises of other public organisations.

It is necessary to adopt this document since the resolution on progressive taxation on wage increases at state-owned enterprises, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the end of its first session, comes into effect on October 1, 1989. The resolution adopted today applies the same principle to cooperatives.

At the end of the evening meeting, Valentin Pavlov, USSR finance minister, answered questions from deputies on various aspects of the draft budget for 1990.

The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree to submit the draft state plan and budget of the USSR for 1990 for the consideration of committees and commissions.

Deputies then decided to form a commission on matters that arose in connection with the coverage by the press of the United States tour of People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin.

Work in parliamentary committees and commissions will continue tomorrow.

Abalkin Cited on Economic Issues

LD2609192389 Budapest MTI in English 1817 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—If the Soviet parliament adopts the economic programme of the government and votes confidence for the accomplishment of the extraordinary tasks, then the first signs of economic normalisation will start emerging within 18 months. Among the most pressing tasks ahead are the uninterrupted functioning of road transport, and the supply of energy, Academician Leonid Abalkin, deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union told MTI's correspondent on Tuesday.

Mr Abalkin also reported that in order to create economic stability and reduce budget deficit, the government is planning drastic cuts in investments and state expenditures, strict control of the population's income and the strengthening of the country's internal market. Strikes should be prohibited by all means in fundamentally important sectors of the economy. The announced cuts in military expenditure by 14 per cent are also an important and necessary step, which will also provide substantial material resources for the budget.

Further on 25 Sep Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Voronin Explains 1990 Economic Plan

PM2609102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 2-4

[Report delivered by L.A. Voronin, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at 25 September afternoon sitting of USSR Supreme Soviet: "On the State Plan for the USSR's Economic and Social Development in 1990"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

The USSR Council of Ministers has submitted for your examination a fundamentally new draft state plan for the country's economic and social development in 1990—in terms of its approaches, proportions, and proposed measures, including emergency measures.

The initial premise for its elaboration was first and foremost the demand formulated by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies that this plan be the start of the implementation of the new perestroyka-induced conceptual directions for the country's economic and social development to improve the life of Soviet man. Work on these fundamental directions has been under way for a long time now. A number of options characterized by different correlations between the amount of resources channeled into the industrial development of production and scientific and technical potential and into the radical solution of social problems were studied.

As a result of the comparison and analysis of the optimality of various options, the option providing the maximum social orientation for the economy in the 13th 5-Year Plan but with a rationally necessary volume of resources channeled into the industrial and scientific and technical buildup of production potential was selected for further study. This is the core of the conceptual directions for our future economic development.

The year 1990 and the 13th 5-Year Plan must be a period of wide-ranging economic recovery [ozdorovleniye] in all areas and of the attainment of balanced and proportionate functioning of the national economy ensuring ongoing expanded reproduction along with an increasing rate of social reorientation of the economy.

Those are the amalgamated fundamental starting points for the formation of the draft plan for 1990, which should thus become an organic initial part of the long-term socioeconomic policy of the party and state in our country.

Without doubt, the task of vigorously improving the current economic situation in our country is another important starting point in the work on the draft plan for 1990.

1. The Economic Situation in the Country by the Beginning of 1990

We are approaching 1990 with an economic situation that is considerably more difficult that it was a year ago. This year the dynamism of the economy has decreased from month to month in many most important areas, social tension has increased, and the national economy's balance has been weakened. Against the backdrop of these processes, shortages both on the consumer market and in production have increased.

In the 1st 8 months of this year production of 62 out of 178 most important types of output monitored by state statistics was lower than for the same period last year. They include such strategic types of output as petroleum, coal, gasoline, diesel fuel, fertilizers, chemical fibers, lumber, pulp, cardboard, hosiery, sugar, flour, and so on.

It is not only a matter of the "burden" of the past now. Of course, our difficulties are based on the imbalances that accumulated over the years. But the increase in this imbalance is the result of the massive influence on the economy of a whole series of new negative phenomena and trends which have emerged with particular force over the last 2 years.

Unfortunately, the increase in the masses' political activeness is accompanied by trends such as a fall in labor and executive discipline. This also finds expression in a reduction in responsibility for contractual and plan commitments.

The democratization of economic management and the withdrawal from the sphere of centralized planning and distribution of a large quantity of output under conditions of diktat by producers, of an underdeveloped market, and of the lack of regulation of our system of price formation and its poor adaptation to market relations have led to the breach of direct cooperation ties that seemed to have been firmly established over many years and to an increase in malfunctions throughout the chain of complex economic relations in social production.

In the absence of global economic levers such as market forces, competition, a system of union and regional taxes, and so on and given the removal of all-embracing directive plan targets, the economic autonomy which enterprises have attained today has triggered a mighty explosion of group egoism which has found expression in the creation of conditions for putting up prices in order to increase profits and hence income and labor remuneration regardless of the real product, the erosion of the cheap range of goods, and the switch of labor collectives' interests from fulfilling contractual deliveries and state orders to utilizing any of their output as a means of direct exchange. These are temporary problems of the transitional period, but if these processes become protracted the situation will be extremely hard to rectify.

The cooperative movement, which should be a source for saturating the consumer market with goods and services, is at present, as is well known, largely engaged in processing or merely reselling state raw materials at extremely high prices, thus increasingly becoming an additional factor for social tension. There is every reason to believe that in a number of cases the black economy has been legalized via cooperatives and has also pumped into circulation money that was previously hidden.

That is the economic aspect of the matter. But I must say most definitely that in the last 2 years new negative trends have emerged which were not only and not so much the result of imperfect economic methods and decisions as the consequence of a general destabilization of the situation in society. The upsurge of interethnic and strike conflicts literally disrupted many economic ties and provoked an additional release of money into circulation with no goods to soak it up.

It must bluntly be said that if we take the path of satisfying virtually all the demands, which, though they may as a rule be just, our economy cannot handle, and if we do not elaborate a statewide realistic position and a phased solution, we can expect a fresh, even more powerful release of money into circulation backed this time by no goods at all and thus an increase in inflation, shortages, and the concomitant social tension.

All these and other phenomena are apparently well known and we have spoken about each of them separately. But they can no longer be regarded separately. They are beginning in their development to act in conjunction with one another, to interact, and to acquire an integrated quality. As a result social production is being disorganized and processes which we have clearly not yet fully understood are being generated.

In short, to assess comprehensively all the negative phenomena that have arisen in the past 2 years it is necessary to recognize that the economy's development and social processes are taking place in complex and contradictory conditions. While stressing the complexity of the situation we do also see at the same time, and this is perhaps the most important thing, positive phenomena undoubtedly manifesting themselves in the economy and those constructive measures which enable us to look to the future optimistically. These are first the undoubtedly heightened interest of all working people in the welfare of their own production unit. Now every working person does indeed increasingly link his own personal prosperity with that of his production unit. The increasingly comprehensive nature of the measures undertaken to introduce economic reform should certainly give a return as of 1990.

This was the basic position of the economy that provided the background against which the plan for 1990 was elaborated. Given these conditions, it was essential to determine with special care the most urgent objectives for 1990, to draw up priorities, to bring them into line with the conceptual avenues for their implementation in the following period, and to concentrate all available resources upon them.

In preparing the plan the paramount task set was first to break the negative trends, stabilize the economy, intensify its social thrust, and start the systematic process of its financial recovery. Second, to meet working people's urgent needs and start stabilizing the domestic market.

And, finally, the third main task stemming from the fact that 1990 is the base year for the next 5-year plan. Despite the acuteness and difficulty of our current problems we should not forget the future. It is 1990 that will have to prepare the material, technical, and economic legislation prerequisites for the ongoing development of the national economy in the next 5-year plan.

How then does the draft state plan intend to solve these tasks?

The draft plan as a whole is sufficiently fully described in the detailed analytical material in your possession. Let us therefore dwell in the main on the most acute problems that require emergency measures.

2. Enhancing the Social Orientation of the Economy

Let us first look at social problems.

The social reorientation of the plan permeates its every section and is represented in concentrated form by a number of major structural changes reflecting a drastic shift of all sectors of the national economy toward satisfaction of Soviet people's needs as a priority. I will cite the most important of these features of social reorientation.

The most generalizing feature of them, which enables us to pinpoint and sense the general dominant trends in the economy and the strategic thrust of its development, is the correlation of national income resources used for current consumption, nonproduction construction, expanded reproduction, and other forms of accumulation. This proportion shapes up in the following way: The proportion of resources for expanded reproduction should fall to 14 percent in 1990 as opposed to 16.3 percent in 1989, that is to say by 2.3 percent, and for the 5-year plan as a whole by 4.4 percent. The proportion of current consumption and construction for nonproduction purposes will increase correspondingly in 1990 from 83.7 to 86 percent.

This constitutes a major change for such an inertial macroeconomic proportion, since in the 10th 5-Year Plan a similar reduction in national income resources not earmarked for people's direct needs amounted to only 1.4 percent, in the 11th 5-Year Plan 0.9 percent, and in the first 3 years of the the 12th 5-Year Plan 0.7 percent. The change in this proportion has made it possible to shift roughly R15 billion from production accumulation to current consumption and construction for nonproduction purposesin the plan for 1990.

The drastic change in the correlations between the increase in output of Group "B" and Group "A" in industry is the major structural shift in favor of consumption. This process has already started this year, when the increase in output of group "B" industry is outstripping that of group "A" by a factor of 1.5. In 1990 it is envisaged that the growth of group "B" will be ahead by a factor of 13. This represents an extraordinary change of proportions in industry.

The next feature is the accelerated growth of retail commodity turnover, which it is envisaged will increase by R40 billion in 1990. I can tell you, for example, that it took almost 4 years to attain such an increase in commodity turnover in the last 5-year plan. And now we are setting ourselves the task of doing it in 1 year and we are certain that it will be possible to do this provided we work as I have indicated. An increase in the production of consumer goods which, as a rule, outstrips many times over the growth of other plan indicators is correspondingly envisaged.

It is also envisaged that paid services be developed at preferential rates. The sales volume of these services envisaged is 11.1 percent, which is double the growth of the GNP.

The intensification of the plan's social thrust is indicated by the fact that the amount of budget expenditure on implementing centralized measures to enhance living standards envisaged for 1990 is 3-3.5 times in excess of similar expenditure in past years.

The plan's social thrust is backed up by a corresponding investment policy. The amount of capital investments in the nonproduction sphere from all sources of finance will amount in 1990 to R58.4 billion or 28.9 percent of overall investment resources for the national economy as opposed to 23.6 percent for the 5-year plan, while the proportion of construction and installation work will go from 39.9 percent for the 5-year plan to 48.7 percent for the plan for the year. Ensuring that all facilities in the social sphere are commissioned without fail is a very important task for ministries, councils of ministers of union republics, and labor collectives.

Today the process of converting the defense sectors of industry is fully geared toward the social reorientation of the economy. The production of nonfood consumer goods by defense sectors in 1990 alone will increase by almost 35 percent and amount to around R40 billion.

Finally, foreign economic policy is being reoriented substantially within the limits of the existing currency resources in favor of the priority importation of consumer goods and the raw materials for their manufacture and of medicinal preparations.

Thus, the draft plan for 1990 implements the economy's concentrated transfer over a broad front to a most favored regime for solutions to social problems. And this is not a temporary measure but a long-term course which will be further continued in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Now in somewhat greater detail about individual important questions of social development.

I wish to report first of all that the draft plan takes account of the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the First USSR Supreme Soviet Session on questions of pension provision and social services. Those decisions were sought under complex conditions. For the implementation of those centralized measures for raising the people's living standards which were provided for in the 5-year plan and were carried over from previous years had already required budget appropriations to the tune of more than R2 billion and, taking into account the additional measures drawn up, these appropriations have increased to almost R10 billion. In the economic situation that has taken shape today this is an extremely difficult task, and its practical resolution is directly linked with the normalization of work and the further development of the national economy.

The government has it in mind also to implement additional measures to mobilize funds to resolve questions of material support for former internationalist servicemen, as well as to introduce coefficients for pensions in regions of the extreme north. In addition, under the new management conditions major social measures will be implemented using the funds earned by enterprises. These include completing the work on raising wage rates and salaries for workers and employees in production sectors of the national economy, introducing additional pay benefits for working people in the fish industry, and certain other measures.

As a result of implementing all these measures, on the basis of the forecast growth in wages in the national economy and also in the cooperative and individual sectors, and covering social expenditure from public consumption funds, on the whole the population's monetary income will continue to grow at a high rate. It must be frankly stated that under the conditions of the new management methods this process is becoming increasingly difficult to regulate from the center. And the public is not very supportive of attempts at such centralized interference. We know what sharp criticism was leveled at the normative correlation between growth in wages and in labor productivity. Now, as you know, the method of tax regulation of the wages fund has been introduced. And it too is starting to be subjected to sharp criticism. This is a fundamental question of great state importance. We must exercise strict state control over the placing of money into circulation, as is done throughout the civilized world.

Now, even taking into account the application of the new tax regulation of the wages fund, the population's monetary income will grow in 1990 (by at least 9 percent) against its actual average annual increase of 5.6 percent over the past 3 years of the 5-year plan.

I am obliged to report to you, Comrade Deputies, that the elaboration of the plan and quite detailed calculations in the sphere of increasing production of goods and services, while straining the currency balance as far as possible in the direction of social problems, have shown the unfeasibility of totally covering current income. The largest possible volume of retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade, given the most optimistic approach to this problem, has been set at R435 billion. I have already said that for this it is necessary to ensure a very large increase in retail commodity turnover.

I will provide several more figures characterizing its increase. In 1986 it stood at R8 billion, and in 1987—R9 billion. But already in 1988 it had been raised to R25 billion. Still greater growth is expected this year, somewhere at the level of R29 billion, and, as I have said, R40 billion for 1990.

But it is perfectly clear that no efforts, not even the most resolute ones, to increase the mass of commodities will keep pace with the spontaneous growth in monetary income, and we know this. Therefore a quite complex situation will take shape in 1990 too. Even given the aforesaid very high volume of retail commodity turnover, it still, unfortunately, does not cover the population's forecast current monetary income. Therefore the USSR Government has submitted the draft plan for 1990 with emission of money at the level of R10 billion. This is approximately 40 percent less than expected this year, but nonetheless it is tangible.

Comrade Deputies!

The work of the agro-industrial complex is of key significance for stabilizing the internal consumer market. In 1990 it is proposed to increase production of the total volume of food in the country to R156 billion at retail prices against R137.8 billion in 1988—an increase of R18 billion. Of course, this is a high increase, since food production increased by R17 billion during the previous 3 years (1986-1988).

What ways do we see for the projected increase in food resources?

The addresses of agrarian deputies to the first Congress of People's Deputies and to the USSR Supreme Soviet pointedly raised questions of radically improving material and technical supplies and construction in the countryside. I wish to report to you, Comrade Deputies, that, despite the tremendous, totally unprecedented exertion in the country concerning investment, material, and financial resources purposefully linked with the implementation of extraordinary measures for economic recovery, the state intends firmly to follow the 5-year plan in the matter of further increasing and qualitatively improving the production potential of agriculture and other sectors of agro-industrial production. These measures include, in particular, the task of the intensive social reorganization of the countryside aimed at improving the work and life of country people.

Despite the reduction in the total volume of capital investment in the national economy compared with this year's plan, investment in the agro-industrial complex will increase by 10-11 percent. In line with calculations based on the 5-year plan for 1990, it is planned to ensure that deliveries to the countryside of tractors, trucks, bulldozers, excavators, and other equipment are made in full. Even though the national economy's overall material potential will, unfortunately, be considerably lower in 1990 compared with the 5-year plan. Mineral fertilizer deliveries are planned at 27.4 million tonnes. Furthermore, the newly created "Agrokhim" Association has the real potential to supply a further 1 million tonnes of fertilizers and chemical feed additives, or even more, to collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] under direct contracts. In conditions of an extremely complex export-import plan and the country's growing foreign debt, it has been decided to purchase a considerable quantity of raw material, equipment, and materials for food production, processing, and storage.

As you can see, Comrade Deputies, the government is doing everything it possibly can for the accelerated development of agro-industrial production. But life shows that it is impossible to radically change the situation regarding the production of agricultural output merely by boosting capital investments and material and financial resources diverted from the vital needs of other sectors. For many years the potential created in the economy's agrarian sector has been inefficiently utilized. In 1988, one in every three hectares sown to grain crops produced a yield of under 10 quintals, while milk yield per cow was under 2,000 kg on one farm in every seven.

We must really bank on an active perestroyka of economic relations in the agrarian sector, on diverse forms of the tenure, use, and disposla of property, and on diverse types of economic management of the land. As regards the practical utilization of the new economic conditions in order to build up food resources and improve food supplies for the population in republics, krays, and oblasts, this task is the aim of the state's overall economic policy and of the activity of union republic Councils of Ministers and local soviets of people's deputies. You see, the state orders at national economic level as regards deliveries of food and agricultural raw materials to all-union stocks have been set by the plan at only 4-5 percent of the total volume of potato and vegetable output, and 15-20 percent of meat and milk.

In this context, Comrade Deputies, I would like to draw your attention to a rather important point. When it comes to supplying agriculture with resources, as you have heard, there are quite clear pledges by the central authorities and the national economy's sectors. But when it comes to boosting the output of products, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and leasehold and family [fermerskiye] farms autonomously plan the structure of their output and the volume of output sales, and are free to accept or reject the fulfillment of state orders for the delivery of food and raw materials on the basis of their economic interests and the overall regional tasks.

Therefore the volumes I am about to cite for the planned food production in the country are calculated for plan purposes on the basis of data supplied by union republics, and their realism largely depends on how the economic mechanism works in agriculture and on the mutual relations that develop between local soviets and farms.

We proceed from the premise that the growth of grain production in 1990 compared with estimates for this year should be 15-16 percent, with 18 percent for vegetables, 4 percent for meat, 3 percent for milk, and 4 percent for vegetable oils. Of course, everyone is primarily interested in the projected level of consumption of basic foodstuffs. Let me give you the data. For example, per capita consumption of meat was 62 kg in 1985, is expected to reach 66 kg in 1988, and is planned at 68 kg in 1990. It is well known that the USSR Food Program was based on a consumption of 70 kg of meat per capita, which can be achieved only at the start of the next 5-year plan period. The situation is approximately the same as regards fish and milk. On the other hand, per capita consumption of vegetable oils and fruit in 1990 is projected below these targets. The figures are 9.2 kg instead of 13.2 kg of vegetable oils, and 58 kg instead of 66-70 kg for fruit.

It is intended to organize uninterrupted trade in bread and bakery products, flour, groats, potatoes, fruit and vegetables, eggs, poultry, and fish and dairy produce.

The processing and storage of agricultural output remain acute issues. Here we are pinning great hopes on the defense sectors, which produce equipment for these purposes.

The population has major complaints as regards disorder in the sale of wine and vodka products. This question is entirely in the hands of union republics and local soviets. The struggle against drunkenness must be waged everywhere, but not by creating enormous inconveniences for purchasers. It is entirely a matter of correctly organizing the trade, and local soviets must simply demand that workers in this sector normalize the situation.

And now about nonfood consumer goods. The situation remains tense in this sphere.

A 20-percent growth in the manufacture of these goods is planned for 1990 compared to this year's level. Whereas television set production in 1986-1988 increased by 257,000 sets, it must increase by 835,000 sets in 1990 compared with the 1989 plan; the corresponding figures are 275,000 and 380,000 for bicycles, 1,035,000 and 2,837,000 for washing machines, and 730,000 and 2.18 million for vacuum cleaners. The population will receive 450,000 videotape recorders against 120,000 in 1989; the corresponding figures will be 292,000 and 108,000 for power units and motorized cultivators, and 15,200 and 5,000 for minitractors. The 1990 output of light industry goods in retail price terms is set to grow by 11 percent in 1990.

I am citing all these figures so that you, comrade deputies, can see for yourselves that the increase in the production of consumer goods envisaged in the plan does indeed in practice outstrip many times over, and not in terms of cost but in physicl terms, all other indicators. These projections are backed by resources, even though problems will arise in this sphere during the year and they will have to be promptly resolved.

The question of goods in daily demand like soap, detergents, and some others has become especially acute in the market during the current year.

The panic demand which has arisen, that is purchasing goods for hoarding, has caused difficulties in organizing the rapid relief of pressure. Measures have been adopted to rectify the situation. It is now returning to normal in a number of places. There is confidence that in the very near future the pressure on these goods will be eliminated. The trade network must just make sure that no other goods become scarce.

Despite the negligible increase in material resources in general in the national economy (in some cases there has been a decrease), material resources allocation for the production of non-food goods has considerably increased: by 17 percent for rolled ferrous metals; 35 percent for cold-rolled stainless steel; 18 percent for polypropylene, and 12 percent for rolled brass.

As has already been said, one of the main ways of increasing specialized capacities for commodity production in 1990 and subsequent years will be the implementation of the conversion program at enterprises in the defense sectors of industry and the reduction of arms supplies. The supply of tanks will thus be cut by 52 percent compared with the 5-year plan. The volume of supplies of ammunition will be reduced by 20 percent compared with the plan for the current year; combat aircraft will be reduced by 12 percent, and military helicopters by 60 percent.

As a result it is planned to reorient the production plan structure to effect an increase in the output of civil machine building and non-food consumer goods. The proportion of these products in the total production volume will rise to 49.2 percent.

Finally, the increase in paid services for the population. As a result of a careful study of this question together with the union republic councils of ministers and ministries and departments it was possible to arrive at a total volume of paid services that stands at R76.2 billion, or R9 billion more than the 5-year plan targets. But, of course, the lag in this sphere is such that other organizational forms of consumer services also have to be sought.

These include, first and foremost, the wider development of cooperative forms of services. Special attention must be paid to setting up cooperatives and getting citizens to work in this sphere on a self-employed basis in rural areas and in small population centers, in which it would not be economically expedient to maintain state enterprises, and in regions that have a manpower surplus.

To round off the topic of consumer goods production and consumer services, I want to particularly emphasize the sharply enhanced role of union republics and local organs in this sphere. They will take over enterprises of the former USSR Light Industry Ministry and USSR State Agroindustrial Committee and of a number of other ministries. Republican industry will account for around 70 percent of overall, countrywide goods production.

The strengthening and development of the material base of the sociocultural sphere are a very important task of the draft plan for 1990.

Without doubt, housing construction remains the chief problem here. There will be a good increase in housing construction overall in the first 4 years of the 5-year plan. In 1990 the plan is to construct 144 million square meters of housing.

In the 5-year plan as a whole over 660 million square meters of housing will be commissioned, which is approximately 110 million square meters more than in the last 5-year period. Around 60 million people will receive better accommodation, compared with 50 million in 1981-1985.

The situation which has taken shape as regards the fulfillment of plans for the construction of children's preschool institutions is worrying. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan 510,800 planned places were not commissioned. The target for 1990 is to commission children's preschool institutions with 932,000 places, which is 47,000 places short of the targets set by previous decisions. The commissioning shortfall is perpetrated mainly by the union republics.

The pressure of demands for children's preschool institutions is to be relieved in various ways. For example, the plan provides for an extension of leave to look after children, the organization of kindergartens and creches in homes, and the expansion of the network of permanent and seasonal preschool institutions not only through new construction, but also by making vacant administrative buildings available for this purpose. According to our calculations, this will raise the provision of preschool institutions for children practically to the normative level.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs [Gosstroy], in conjunction with the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, to devise within 2 months a program for the development of the network of preschool institutions, with a view to fully meeting the population's demands for them in every union republic.

General educational schools will be commissioned for 1.7 million pupils. This is more than projected in the 5-year plan. At the same time, in view of the state of the material base at existing schools, the overcrowding in many of them, and the need to increase the intake of 6-year-old children and reduce the size of classes, it has to be admitted that even these plans are inadequate and they fail to tackle completely the task of establishing normal conditions for the organization of the training and education process.

Major measures are being adopted to equip schools. For example, production of school computers is to increase by 70 percent in 1990. As for most other school equipment, its production is now almost totally in the hands of the union republics.

The material and technical basis of the health service is to be further developed and strengthened. Capital investments totaling R4.1 billion, compared with the 5-year plan's R2.8 billion, are envisaged for constructing and equipping hospitals, dispensaries and health centers, modern diagnostic centers, and other medical establishments. This will make it possible, on the basis of all sources of funding, to commission hospitals with a total of 78,500 beds and dispensaries and health centers handling 201,100 patients per shift. In 1986-1990 as a whole it is expected that the 5-year plan targets for commissioning hospitals and health centers will be overfulfilled.

In view of the special concern connected with the shortage of vitally important medicines and medical equipment, the possibility has been found of increasing foreign currency appropriations by more than R2.3 billion in addition to home-produced deliveries. Nonetheless, it has not proved possible to entirely resolve in the plan the problem of fully meeting the need of medical and prophylactic establishments and the population for medicines and items of medical equipment.

The draft plan for 1990 makes provision for the further development and consolidation of the material and technical base of culture, cinematography, television and radio broadcasting, and the press. It is planned to commission movie theaters with a total of 36,500 seats, which is in line with the 5-year plan targets, and also 127 rayon cultural centers. The 1990 plan makes provision for the necessary capital investments for the construction and reconstruction of establishments such as the V.I. Lenin Central Museum, the USSR State Library named for Lenin, the USSR State Museum of the Revolution, the State History Museum, the State Hermitage, the State Public Library named for Saltykov-Shchedrin, the A.S. Pushkin State Museum of Visual Arts, the State Tretyakov Gallery, and historical and cultural monuments in the cities of Leningrad, Pskov, Novgorod, and others.

During the elaboration of the draft 1990 plan, the USSR Gosplan focused special attention on the expansion of work to protect the country's cultural heritage. Thus R343.2 million, or R77.7 million more than in the 1989 plan, are being channeled into the restoration and repair of historical and cultural monuments.

The profound perestroyka of all aspects of social life has given rise to a tremendous "reading boom" determined by social and political activeness and the Soviet people's need to interpret the events which are taking place. The planned circulation of newspapers and magazines in 1990 is to total 54,346,000,000 and 4,979,000,000 copies respectively, which considerably exceeds the 5-year plan targets and provides for free subscription by the population.

The draft plan for 1990 provides for the publication of books slightly in excess of the 5-year plan target (2,731,000 copies against the planned 2,721,000 copies). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to plan the publication of a greater volume of books owing to acute shortages of paper. At the same time, the publication of textbooks, children's literature, and subscription, information, and export publications has been included in the state order.

With a view to ensuring the accelerated social development of the countryside, it is planned to construct apartment blocks there with a total floor space of 49 million square meters, general education schools with 656,000 places, preschool institutions with 5,700 places, and out-patient clinics for 20,000 consultations per shift.

With the transition of enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing, the role of their own resources in the construction of sociocultural sphere projects is increasing. The proportion of commissioning using the social development funds of enterprises and associations in the overall volume of construction in 1990 will increase considerably: to 36 percent for apartment blocks as against 11 percent in 1986-1988; while the figures for preschool institutions are 32 percent against 7 percent respectively. Thus, here too responsibility to people rests not just on the center but also on union republics and enterprises which are actively shouldering this noble work.

A general description of the draft's social sections is provided by indicators like an increase in the population's real incomes which it is planned will be 5.8 percent against the 4.5 expected in 1989, an increase in social consumption funds, the respective figures being 8 percent and 6.6 percent, and an increase in retail trade turnover, with respective figures of 10.1 percent against 7.8 percent. Thus the main plan indicators which reflect in general terms the planned measures to enhance people's living standards will rise faster than in the current year, which, ultimately, is the criterion of the social reorientation of the economy.

3. Emergency Measures in the 1990 Plan for the Recovery of the Economy

Allow me also to dwell on some emergency measures envisaged in the draft plan for 1990 which are dictated by the present economic situation in the country. The USSR Government is deeply convinced that a decisive step must be taken in 1990 in implementing emergency measures for the economy's financial recovery and also in starting the processes of normalizing the domestic consumer market and foreign trade balances.

The problem of the economy's financial recovery was one of the central problems during work on the plan. The following very important measures are geared to resolve that problem.

One of the main sources of financial resources is profit. At present, as is well known, this indicator, like many others, incidentally, is not directively planned but established by the enterprises themselves. At the same time, when drafting the plan and working out its financial balance, we had to very carefully determine potential growth in profit on the basis of enterprises' reserves. We also envisage substantial growth in revenue from turnover tax: a total of R121.9 billion in 1990 against R105.9 billion calculated in the plan for this year. This revenue is expected to come from the substantial increase in consumer goods output.

Another emergency measure for financial recovery is to considerably reduce centralized capital investments. We actually began this process this year, when the approved plan for this indicator was reduced by R7.5 billion. This process is going to be intensified in 1990. As a result, it is planned to allocate R23.4 billion less in budgetary appropriations than were allocated this year to finance state centralized capital investments.

It is planned to cut defense expenditure by more than R12 billion against the 5-year plan and by R6.4 billion in comparison to this year. These are the main changes in the state's financial balance. As a whole, for the first time in many decades we have been able to provide for preferential growth in state income in comparison to increased expenditure. However, even these emergency measures, which will have far from straightforward consequences, have not made it possible to overcome the financial deficit in the plan and budget for 1990. It still stands at R60 billion, which is made up by a series of special measures new to our economy, on which Comrade Pavlov will deliver a report. But, comrade deputies, this deficit is half what it was in the plan for 1989, so, if we can maintain this process, a real end to the financial imbalance of the Soviet economy is within sight even now.

But we must bear in mind that, beginning in 1991, we will not be able to continue to improve the economy solely on the basis of emergency measures. Consequently, our main course of action in the future will be to enhance the efficiency of social production, increase profit, and introduce progressive structural changes in the national economy on the basis of the broad introduction of scientific and technological achievements.

An extreme situation is taking shape in real life and in the draft plan for foreign trade. The solution to many of our problems depends on our active involvement in the international division of labor. In principle, this is common world practice. The country meets some of its important needs through imports. This applies to some progressive types of metal products (in particular, sheet metal for vehicle chassis, for refrigerators, and so forth), chemical and machine-building products, and also consumer goods, the raw materials for their production, and certain foodstuffs. It would be impossible and irrational in principle to sharply reorient the economy within the space of 1 year so as to be able to stop importing all these goods. But the whole problem lies in increasing aspirations and in the increasing extent to which vital needs are satisfied through imports, while efforts to obtain necessary goods on the basis of developing Soviet production are on the wane. This ill can briefly be described as import parasitism, where some earn foreign currency and others spend it. It must be frankly said that our main shortcoming in this respect is that we import large amounts of grain, feed, metal, and raw materials for light industry—in other words, the kind of things we should be producing in abundance ourselves.

The situation is such that the volume of imports in 1990 is no longer simply determined by the existence of resources it is planned to generate from the export of Soviet goods but also by the amount of major foreign credit we must attract for financing purchases and servicing our foreign debt.

How is it planned to use the foreign currency resources envisaged in the draft plan in 1990? They will primarily be used to purchase consumer goods, and there is also going to be a substantial increase in the import of raw materials and other materials for light industry, for improvement in the population's health care, and for the purchase of grain and foodstuffs.

At the same time, there are going to be reductions in the purchase of machinery and equipment, metal products, and certain chemical and other goods against the plan for 1989. But the import of those types of equipment intended to resolve social tasks will be maintained and account for 40 percent of all imports of machine-building products. Planned purchases of the most important raw material goods will generally be able to sustain the work of sectors resolving social tasks and also satisfy the urgent production needs of the national economy. But a number of problems arise when it comes to utilizing production facilities which have in the past used imported raw material in volumes in excess of the optimum.

In these conditions special attention has been paid to achieving the maximum possible volume of Soviet exports, because it should not be forgotten that on the world market loans are given to those with something in which to actively trade. When resolving this task, on the one hand we had to allocate for export the kind of goods that will be competitive on the foreign market. On the other hand, we had to consider the advisability of diverting them from the national economy for sale abroad. It must be admitted that even the increased export of Soviet machinery and equipment cannot, at present, rapidly change the structure of Soviet exports and replace raw material goods. Because of this, there will be no tangible changes in the export structure and the main burden for generating the necessary foreign currency revenue will lie, as before, on the export of fuel and raw materials.

This also objectively reflects the state of our country's economy with its scientifically and technically weak processing industry base.

Trade with socialist countries will still account for the main bulk of the Soviet Union's trade turnover. We have established a traditional partnership on the basis of long-term agreements, direct ties, and production sharing and specialization. Foreign economic ties with this group of countries are primarily built on a mutually advantageous, balanced economic basis.

The exceptional nature of the plan projections is particular clear in investment policy for 1990. At the last USSR Supreme Soviet session there were resolute demands for a reduction in unjustified or nonpriority production construction. This was required by the financial recovery of the economy and its social reorientation. But the practical resolution of this task proved an extremely complex problem. First, there are questions whose resolution simply cannot be postponed. Priority has been given to the agro-industrial complex, and then there is the acceleration of the construction of housing, children's establishments, and educational, cultural, and public health facilities, and also the continuing elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES], the Armenian earthquake, and other natural disasters. We will not save money in these spheres. Almost 30 percent of all projected capital investment in developing the national economy has been channeled in this direction. Therefore capital investment can be reduced only at the expense of production construction.

Second, room for maneuver was substantially restricted by the fact that we had to take fully into account enterprises' proposals regarding amounts of capital investments funded by the resources which they themselves have earned. These capital investments accounted for over 58 percent of all the state capital investments channeled into the production sphere.

Thus in practice the entire decrease in investment resources fell to the state centralized capital investments channeled into the production sphere, which by virtue of their essence and purpose were supposed to ensure major structural shifts in the national economy and to pave the way for scientific and technical progress.

The capital investments in question have been set at R27.2 billion less than the 5-year plan calculations and R18.1 billion, or 24.8 percent, less than the 1989 plan. As a result of this reduction R143.4 billion will be channeled into production construction from all sources of finance. That figure includes R51 billion for construction and installation work, or R15 billion less than the 5-year plan.

Taking into account the prevailing situation with regard to financial and material resources, the USSR Government, with the utmost responsibility, decided to take such a step for the first time, mindful that this will necessitate a slowing in the pace of work or the total abandonment of continued implementation of certain construction programs, the mothballing of a number of major construction projects, a limitation of the possibility of systematically building up construction starts for the commissioning of many capacities in the 13th 5-Year Plan, and also a decline in the workload of the capacities of a number of construction organizations and the retraining of their labor resources.

It is obvious that, when a start is made to drawing up the 13th 5-Year Plan in the very near future, it will be necessary to seek out additional reserves of financial and material resources in order to keep production capital investments at the necessary level even in the first years of the 5-year plan and to create adequate conditions for the retooling of the economy's production potential on the basis of an improvement in their effectiveness.

State centralized capital investments in the 1990 plan have not decreased for the sectors of the agro-industrial complex, light and local industry, consumer services for the population and a number of other production facilities under republican jurisdiction, and also the construction of motor highways in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Non-Chernozem Zone.

For all other national economic complexes these investment resources are planned to be considerably below the 5-year plan targets and in many cases below the anticipated level in 1989.

It will be necessary to step up the extremely complex work that has now been started to mothball the construction projects for those facilities which the economy can do without, albeit with difficulty. It will be necessary to adopt decisions ensuring the rational utilization of buildings and installations at mothballed construction projects, including by means of creating an economic interest for state, cooperative, and mixed enterprises, associations, and concerns to invest their own money in order to complete the construction, conversion [pereprofilirovaniye], and retooling of such facilities.

Another extremely acute question is that of unfinished construction. For the first time in a number of years the 1990 plan envisages ensuring preferential growth in the commissioning of fixed capital by comparison with capital investments, which will make it possible to reduce unfinished construction by R10 billion under the state capital investment plan and to reduce it to R148 billion by the end of 1990. The reduction in state centralized capital investments in the 1989-1990 plans will mean that unfinished construction at mothballed projects and facilities will be frozen at the level of around R15 billion. Geological exploration, planning and surveying work, drilling work, amelioration work in agriculture, and certain other work and expenditure that under existing methods are ranked as "unfinished construction" total around R34 billion.

Thus unfinished construction actually at construction projects included in the plan is estimated at around R100 billion, as against a volume of capital investments of approximately R150 billion, which creates the conditions for improving the readiness of started construction projects and accelerating the commissioning of production capacities.

It should be noted that over half the total volume of unfinished construction, that is, R55 billion, is concentrated at construction projects in the sociocultural sphere and in sectors of the agro-industrial complex and light industry, in other words, in spheres where capital investments have not decreased, where the construction cycle is shortest, and where the population has the greatest need of the output produced by these capacities. Union republics must pay serious attention to this.

At the same time the results of the work of the country's construction complex in the first 6 months of the current year show that as yet there is no real progress in accelerating the commissioning of fixed capital and production capacities. Before the end of the year the collectives of construction organizations and clients must take effective measures to rectify the situation with regard to the commissioning of new capacities, which are extremely necessary for balanced work by the economy in 1990.

In order to improve the effectiveness of capital investments and reduce unfinished construction as of 1990 it is planned, first, to switch to making settlements with clients for finished construction work and to forming construction organizations' income (profit) on the basis of this indicator after the commissioning of production capacities and facilities and, second, to further develop the construction of "turnkey" enterprises. Third, it is planned to gradually replace the nonrepayable budget financing of production construction by the issue of loans for it.

To conclude the account of the emergency measures in the financial, foreign trade, and investment recovery of the country, I would like to stress that these measures are an organic part of the state plan, they form part of the plans of union republics, enterprises, and organizations, and can be implemented in a comprehensive and interconnected fashion only within the framework of a common and coordinated process of the fulfillment of all these plans. Therefore all these measures must literally permeate the whole system of plans. They must find their place everywhere. Only thus is it possible to solve these difficult problems.

4. Development of Material Production Sectors and Tasks To Overcome Some Consequences of the Extraordinary Measures Adopted in the Plan

The basis for the development of the material production sectors is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and on this basis the implementation of a course toward enhancing social production efficiency and saving resources. During the elaboration of the draft plan for 1990 a new concept for the centralized planning of the priority avenues of scientific and technical progress was implemented.

The preparation of the state order for the development of science and technology for 1990 was for the first time based actively and with a practical bent on a system of state scientific and technical programs for the solution of the most important national economic problems like health care, food, the provision of information technology, resource saving, the ecology, and others.

In addition, the fulfillment of work within the framework of the CEMA countries' comprehensive program of scientific and technical progress along priority avenues—the computerization and automation of the national economy, new materials and technologies for their production, biotechnology, and the development of nuclear power engineering—is envisaged within the state order. It is planned to fulfill a substantial volume of work through the efforts of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. With a view to consolidating the material base of the scientific organizations fulfilling the targets of the state scientific and technical programs, the draft plan for 1990 provides for the commissioning of 59 facilities at testing and experimental bases and semicommercial installations.

But a considerable volume of scientific and technical problems must now be resolved at production associations and enterprises. But it must be said that enterprises' transition to the new conditions of economic management has so far not only failed to increase but has even reduced their interest in chanelling their own funds into the implementation of scientific and technical achievements. There is only one way out here: A mutual process of rapprochement between science and production is needed. We see in this the main task of the transformed ministries and departments.

The main avenues of scientific and technical progress in all sectors are connected with the retooling of the active part of fixed production capital, and this can only be ensured by machine building. It is planned that next year the pace of the growth of machine building output will be 80 percent greater than the growth rate of industry as a whole. But that is not the only point. Our machine building is beginning to become really capable of producing truly advanced equipment. For instance, the proportion of automated machinery, equipment, and instruments using microprocessor technology will be 25 percent of the total production of machine building output. Or take another indicator—the proportion of output in its first year of production in the volume of machine building production. We began the 12th 5-year plan with this output accounting for 3.1 percent. That is an extremely low level for the output renewal rate. And it has remained at this level for many years. But in 1990 the proportion of updated output will be close to 12 percent. As you can see, that is a quite major step in the plan and it must be fully reflected in practical work.

What is characteristic of machine building now? Primarily large structural advances in production output. There are basically two priority avenues. The first is everything connected with the solution of social problems. That is a broad range of machinery and equipment for the agro-industrial complex, light industry, medical equipment, and consumer goods themselves. The production of many of the items of machinery and equipment from this group will increase several times over in 1990. And the second major avenue is machine building to improve the technical standard of machine building itself. That means the priority development of electronics, the electrical equipment industry, instrument making, and machine tool making.

Comrade deputies!

It is well known what rebukes have been levelled against the planning organs with regard to the hypertrophied development of the fuel and raw material sectors. In elaborating the plan for 1990 this problem was the subject of the closest attention. The extraction and production of fuel and raw material resources are planned at the minimal level necessary to meet urgent needs. Here it is even planned to reduce extraction and production for a number of types of fuel and raw material.

How did we approach these first outlines? Take, for instance, electrical power engineering. First of all great emphasis was placed on energy saving. As for the growth in the consumption of electricity, it is planned only in the municipal and consumer sector and the agro-industrial complex.

Matters are more complex with regard to the extraction of organic fuel. As you know, the production of nuclear power in our country is declining drastically against the 5-year plan. That is why, to ensure even a very moderate increase in the generation of electricity, it will be necessary to extract an additional 37 million tonnes of equivalent fuel. Taking into account the consumption of fuel in the social sector and the agro-industrial complex and export needs, this has determined the first outlines for the development of the fuel sectors.

The same approach was applied in the other raw material sectors. Thus it was not so much the growth of production as the further improvement of its structure and an increase in the production of a progressive range of metal and the preferential development of the production of economical types of metal output which were adopted as the main avenue for the development of metallurgy. While the overall increase in the production of finished rolled metal will be 2 percent compared with 1989, the production of heat-treated rolled metal will increase 5 percent, the production of rolled metal from low-alloyed steel will increase 7.5 percent, and the production of the range of high-strength petroleum pipes will increase 10.1 percent.

An extremely difficult situation is taking shape in the chemical and timber complex. This complex is now under critical fire from various directions. On the one hand it is giving rise to justified rebukes because of the shortage of many products—medicines, detergents, paper, furniture, and others. And on the other many of its production facilities are being halted by the public for ecological reasons.

For example, in the current 5-year plan capacities for the production of 1.2 million tonnes of mineral fertilizers, 1.2 million tonnes of sulfuric acid, more than 1 million tonnes of ammonia, and also 398,000 tonnes of pulp, 85,000 tonnes of paper, 96,000 tonnes of cardboard, and a whole number of other products in acutely short supply have been withdrawn by unilateral decision of local organs, by no means always with adequate justification. Production of a further 885,000 tonnes of pulp is threatened with stoppage or restriction, which could entail a production shortfall of approximately 1.5 million tonnes of paper and cardboard. A considered, competent assessment must be made of such demands for the immediate closure of enterprises. But the chief thing is to take effective measures to eliminate acute economic problems.

Even under these conditions it has been possible to envisage growth in the production of paper, detergents, and medicines in quantities which substantially lessen strain in the supply of them.

The policy being realized in the plan of saving resources and holding back extraction and production of fuel and raw material resources has made it possible to provide for a smaller volume of freight shipments than envisioned in the 5-year plan. They will remain practically at this year's level. This will enable transport workers to concentrate on realizing measures to ensure the stabilization of the situation in transport.

As for passenger traffic, it is to increase 5.2 percent in railroad transport and 6.3 percent in air transport compared with the 5-year plan targets. This is large growth for just 1 year, although it still will not resolve all the problems of passenger traffic.

The draft plan's projections regarding communications mainly tally with the 5-year plan targets. The volume of communications services for the population will increase 52 percent over 5 years, including almost a doubling of telephone communication services.

At the same time it should be pointed out in particular that falling capital investments and declining imports are having a big negative influence on the development of a number of sectors.

For example, the underallocation of cold-rolled and hot-rolled sheet metal could affect the production of automobiles, trucks, tractors, and railcars. The lowering of quotas for copper, primary aluminum, cable plastic, and rolled nonferrous metals will entail a reduction in the production of cable products.

The problems that have arisen over the loading of capacities because of the reduction in imports raise the more general question of the flexibility of our production and of its ability to adapt quickly to the new conditions arising. It is necessary to accustom people to working under abruptly changing conditions. Our enterprises have always worked under conditions of stable resources and sales. The situation is different now. Today these enterprises must restructure themselves because of the resources, because of falling imports. Tomorrow, when the market starts working, they will have to be able to restructure themselves also because of a change in the demand.

Serious consequences are also arising in connection with the reduction in capital investments. As already stated, enforced mothballing of major construction projects will be required in the fuel and energy complex, in ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry, in machine building and transport. The mothballing and cessation of construction of groundwork capacities in 1990 could lead in subsequent years to considerable difficulties in developing the economy unless corresponding measures are taken subsequently.

There is also a social aspect to the reduction in capital investments. The lowering of construction volumes necessitates cutting back a large number of people employed in construction production, who must be trained in a new specialty and found jobs in other sectors. This problem is particularly acute for construction workers working in regions which have been little developed.

The corresponding ministries, the Gosstroy, and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems are currently working on this problem on the government's behalf. Such are the problems of developing the physical production sectors along with the measures envisaged in the plan, and ministries, union republics, and enterprises can do much to fulfill the plan.

Thus, in the process of realizing the plan enterprises and associations in the fuel and energy complex must find additional reserves and sources of funding the sectors' development. To this end a number of measures have been outlined to provide economic incentives, including hard currency incentives, for labor collectives to exceeding the state orders for fuel extraction.

Metallurgy can be one source of resources, including hard currency resources. It has reserves. But it is not expedient to seek them here, at the center. It is necessary to actively study additional possibilities for involving the existing potential reserves in the sector for producing efficient types of metal products. This must be very specific, scrupulous, everyday work, which must result in the additional formation of resources to develop this important sector.

Machine building must also bring to light additional resources, including export resources. With regard to a number of types of equipment we could perfectly well enter the world market on a larger scale than outlined in our plans. Ministries and enterprises must very purposefully examine once again the whole range of very important equipment and other equipment planned for production and abandon the production of everything that can somehow be dispensed with, and thereby remove the strain on the raw material sectors, as well as addressing the quality, reliability, and durability of the equipment being produced, while reducing its prime cost, particularly for the needs of agriculture.

At the same time, Comrade Deputies, there are a number of extremely acute problems in the country's economy today which must not be postponed even until next year and for whose prompt resolution it is necessary to take urgent extraordinary measures.

We are most concerned at several global factors whose action, I would say, is having an extremely negative effect on the economy today. **The first** is the undermining of the work of railroad transport mainly owing to various strikes and disorganization at local level. **The second** is the extremely unsatisfactory work to prepare the country for the winter of 1989-1990 because of strikes in the coal industry and transport disorder. **The third** is the destabilization of all physical production, which finds expression, above all, in the absolute reduction in the production of products that the national economy and the country's population need and the lowering of plan and contract discipline.

The fourth is the slackening of price discipline, and **the fifth** is the unsubstantiated and unregulated growth in wages, which is destabilizing the internal market against a background of unsatisfactory work.

As a detailed example I will cite the situation which has now taken shape with regard to the transportation of freight by rail and with which the government is having to deal virtually round the clock. The shortfall in the transportation of freight during April-September of the current year totals 40 million tonnes, to which a further 8 million tonnes have to be added for September so far. The situation has reached a point where hundreds of industrial enterprises have begun to suspend production because of shortfalls in the delivery of raw materials and components. At the same time output which should have been shipped out is building up in producers' warehouses. Stocks of coal at power stations have dropped to a level impermissible during preparations for the winter. Stockpiles of unshipped chemical fertilizers have increased by 30 percent, and those of iron ore by 70 percent, while stocks of this raw material at metallurgical plants have been reduced by almost 2.5 million tonnes. Metallurgists' reserves of coking coal are only just over 50 percent of the normative level. As of the beginning of September more gasoline and diesel fuel, which are in short supply, had accumulated at petrochemical combines and depots of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products than last year, over 120,000 and 400,000 tonnes respectively.

Now about preparations for the winter.

In the current year total extraction during January-August in comparison with the corresponding period last year fell by 10.5 million tonnes for petroleum and by 20.7 million tonnes for coal.

As a result, despite the unprecedentedly mild winter last year and the correspondingly considerably reduced consumption of fuel in the country, consumers' stocks at present are considerably below last year's. They began to shrink especially rapidly during July-September.

As for the third factor, I have already cited figures about the reduced production of output. Analysis of these trends shows that the country's potential is being substantially underused, and this is immediately reflected in disrupted deliveries, failure to fulfill concluded contracts, imbalances, and shortages of resources, which in turn make it impossible to make full use of existing capacities. Thus the circle is completed, and it cannot be broken today with the help of the state order, which in 1990 is everywhere below 100 percent of enterprises' actual potential. It is necessary to look at things realistically. If we produce less of everything that we desperately need, we will not be able to achieve balance or onward movement, no matter what degree of efficiency in the utilization of resources we envisage in the plan. In these conditions it is necessary to enhance the importance of the factor of the utilization of the production capacity created by the labor of the entire people and to activate the new economic mechanism in this area.

Furthermore, the uncontrolled rise in prices for all sorts of output, which is not accompanied by an improvement in their technical standard, quality, and general consumer performance, is one of the most negative trends. Many enterprises and cooperatives are inflating the prices of their output, pumping up output as expressed in terms of its value, and using capacities at less than full potential, and from the artifically created profits they then pay themselves real bonuses, which, it is true, immediately lose their real value in conditions of an overstretched internal market. The Soviet trade unions' statement "On Price Rises, Goods Shortages, and Soviet People's Living Standards" adopted at the Sixth All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] Plenum notes outright that the AUCCTU plenum demands that the USSR Government and union republic Councils of Ministers take steps without delay to "freeze prices" for basic food and industrial goods. As from the 4th quarter of the current year and for the whole of 1990 we must adopt possibly unpopular but sufficiently effective measures to normalize the situation in the country as regards both wholesale and retail prices without doing away with their role as an incentive in enhancing the quality and consumer performance of goods.

All these factors are very dangerous for the economy today. The plan makes provision for emergency measures to ensure their localization. However, to ensure the implementation of both the plan and the measures which it contains, the USSR Government must have powers matching up to these tasks.

Therefore the government deems it necessary to submit right now, at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, proposals for adopting a number of emergency laws. For instance, a law on railroad transport and all other types of transport is clearly overdue, a law which would declare the absolute inviolability of all railroads and other transport systems and localize the effect of strikes by railroads and other organizations involved in the process of freight and passenger transportation.

The emergency situation demands emergency, resolute steps. We cannot escape this, but it would be better if it were done in an organized fashion and in good time rather than under pressure at the last minute. These measures reflect the people's desire for order, discipline, and legal protection.

5. Ecological Recovery

The ecology is another extremely acute problem. There is no need to talk about the importance of this problem and the extent to which it has been neglected. This is only too well known. But the neglect of ecology is now having a highly tangible effect on the economy. Many dozens of enterprises are being withdrawn from operation and we are losing the production of extremely necessary output. I already cited an example from the chemical industry and timber complex. There are numerous similar examples.

The draft plan pays much attention to the further expansion of measures to remedy the ecological situation and improve the utilization of natural resources. Suffice it to say that, while the volume of capital investments in the production sphere is being significantly reduced, the quote for capital investment in environmental protection measures will be raised by 19 percent. Such growth is not seen in any other sector.

I can thus report with the utmost responsibility that the 1990 plan gives powerful priority to ecological problems from the viewpoint of centralized resources. Where could we expect dangers in the implementation of this priority? Primarily in practical work at local level, where, it must be bluntly said, insufficient attention is paid to the construction of environmental protection facilities.

With a view to sharply improving matters as regards the construction and commissioning of environmental protection facilities, 180 of them have been included in state orders. These are major capacities for the purification of effluents, gas purification installations, recirculating water supply systems, and enterprises for the comprehensive utilization of mineral resources and the reproduction of valuable species of fish.

The solution of ecological problems could proceed more successfully if local soviets, enterprises, and organizations engaged in a more active and persistent quest for new creative approaches and nontraditional ways in the sphere of rationalizing the utilization of natural resources.

In conformity with the Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolution, the preparation of a long-term state program for environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources is now approaching completion.

6. On Union Republic Development Plans

Comrade Deputies! Completely different approaches are now being applied in planning the development of union republics' national economies. When it comes to the republics, the statewide plan contains an extremely limited range of indicators and targets, or, in the case of the republics due to switch to economic accountability, only deliveries to all-republican stocks and inter-republic deliveries [potoki]. The elaboration of the entire plan for the territory as a whole and the formation of the most important macroeconomic territorial proportions are now the prerogative of the union republics themselves. And their plans will be ratified by their own Supreme Soviets.

At the same time, the economy of every union republic is historically integrated in a unified national economic complex. This is an objective fact. It is unavoidable. There are many problems which, from both the economic and moral points of view, must be resolved by all republics together.

For example, the earliest possible elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is an important nationwide problem. The plan envisages the continuation of work to build housing and sociocultural projects using the manpower and resources of the Armenian SSR, as well as those of all union republics and of a number of USSR ministries and departments.

One of the complex problems demanding increased attention is the continuation of work to eliminate the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl nuclear power station [AES]. A state program is currently being elaborated for the elimination of this accident's consequences in the Belorussian SSR in 1990-1995. A considerable amount of work to liquidate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES must be done in the Ukrainian SSR and Bryansk Oblast.

There are many similar common problems, and not only as the result of accidents. We welcome and fully support the republics' desire for economic autonomy. This is a general line which was confirmed by the decisions of the recently held CPSU Central Committee plenum.

7. General Economic Indicators and Proportions

Now let me briefly describe the general economic indicators and proportions of the plan for 1990. I left these matters until the end of my report not because I chose this logic of presentation but because this was the logic of the plan's elaboration.

A peculiarity of the draft plan's elaboration was the fact that this work began with setting specific objectives and priorities, primary tasks demanding solution, the discovery of the necessary resources to implement them, and the shaping of the appropriate structure of social production. With this approach, the growth rates of general economic indicators and macroeconomic proportions were set strictly within the limits necessary for the achievement of the set objectives.

Speaking of growth rates, for the majority of indicators they are a little higher than the figures actually achieved during the past years of the 5-year plan period.

Let me cite the main indicators which determine the economy's dynamism. For example, the draft plan projects the growth rate of gross national product at 5 percent against an average of 4 percent in 1986-1988, the figures for produced national income are 4 percent against 2.8 percent, and those for utilized national national income are 3.6 percent against 2.6 percent.

The approach toward setting general economic indicators on the basis of the solution of specific social and economic tasks thus confirmed the need to intensify the economy's dynamism. The study of a series of options showed the impossibility of solving even the absolute minimum of priority tasks on the basis of slow rates.

The draft plans envisages substantial structural shifts. There is, first and foremost, a change in proportions reflecting the economy's social reorientation and the radical turn toward people's needs and requirements.

It is also planned to improve the important proportion or correlation between the growth of end and intermediate products in the global social product. During the current 5-year plan period as a whole, the growth of end product (articles for consumption and finished construction projects) per R1 growth in the cost of raw and other materials and semiprocessed products (intermediate product) will be 1.7 times greater than during the previous 5-year plan period. The 5-year plan envisaged that this proportion would improve only 1.4 times.

Comrade Deputies, I would like to especially emphasize that these general economic indicators and proportions were elaborated in the light of the preliminary plans of enterprises, associations, and organizations as generalized by ministries and departments. But the statewide plan in no way mechanically reproduces these plans. Furthermore, the national income projected on the basis of the totals of enterprise plans was below this year's plan. Requests by ministries and enterprises for centralized capital investments would have produced a substantial growth in the share of the accumulation fund. On the basis of these proposals, the volume of retail trade turnover was virtually at the expected level for this year, in other words, without any growth. The government could not submit such a plan to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Back in April of this year, and also in August and September, the government worked meticulously to reveal objective possibilities for enhancing production efficiency and providing resource assistance to enterprises, as a result of which the indicators and proportions of the state plan, as well as of the entire plan system, were improved. Of course, we have not yet reached complete mutual understanding everywhere, but a balance has been achieved in all the main parameters and basic proportions.

At the same time, enterprises have still not completed their autonomous work on their plans. Once the plan is adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in the version it deems necessary, enterprises will have to finalize the conclusion of economic contracts between suppliers and consumers taking into account the USSR Supreme Soviet's decisions, and must complete the elaboration of their plans on the basis of these contracts. That is when this most important feature of the new economic mechanism will finally determine the general economic indicators and national economic proportions which will actually be in force next year.

Concluding the discussion on plan indicators and proportions, I would like to mention in particular that its preliminary examination by USSR Supreme Soviet commissions is already under way. The initial experience of this examination shows that it is extremely businesslike, keen, and demanding. It seems to us that such a foundation has been laid for further study of the draft plan.

8. The Deepening of the Economic Reform

The fate of the plan will depend to a considerable extent on the functioning of the new economic mechanism. The year 1990 must be decisive in our advance toward fundamentally new economic relations in the country. The prevailing situation in the national economy has clearly highlighted the results of delay in this matter.

Some groundwork already exists. A major package of laws defining the fundamental basis of future economic relations has been prepared for your ratification. The structure of the 1990 plan takes fully into account the amendments to the Law on the Enterprise that were adopted at the last USSR Supreme Soviet session. The mechanism for the union republics' self-financing and self-management is being set up.

But all this is just the beginning. In order to transform these individual decisions into really new and, most importantly, organic economic relations, much remains to be done. But social tension demands immediate results.

Therefore it is necessary to implement the economic reform more resolutely and, most importantly, more fully and rapidly and to introduce a system of state taxes and other powerful economic levers in order to fill the management vacuum that has formed after the removal of detailed plan regulation with new relations, including market relations.

We have firmly embarked on the path of economic methods of managing and developing market relations, but in practice the transitional period is throwing up many difficulties which must be steadily overcome. Approaches toward work on radically transforming the entire system of ownership, planning, and price formation, and also many other state legal provisions have already assumed the specific form of draft laws that the USSR Supreme Soviet will begin to discuss at the current session. Therefore the mechanism and the measures that we will have to use next year will bear the hallmarks of the transitional period.

But while actively advancing toward the market and toward new forms of ownership, we must also foresee their negative consequences: Such is dialectics. Without proper regulation, the market leads to severe social stratification and is reluctant to come to terms with social protection. The market is the market with its sometimes ruthless laws. This must be foreseen and its development must be channeled in the optimum direction.

But in order to do this we need endurance and consistency, every step must be carefully considered, and we need active and businesslike cooperation between economic science and management and planning practice, since the fates of millions of Soviet people are bound up with these processes.

In conclusion it must be stressed that the submitted plan can be fulfilled and the country's economic situation can be really normalized only given strict discipline and organization and the proposed emergency measures, bolstered by the necessary powers. We are now observing social activeness on the part of the working people without precedent in our country. The success of the entire cause of perestroyka hinges on ensuring that this social activeness is directed not toward disorganizing production but toward improving its efficiency, not toward an escalation of material demands that is out of touch with life and the real situation but above all toward creating the resources to satisfy those demands.

The basis for such a consolidation of all forces in society can be provided by economic recovery and the implementation of the state plan adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, which must influence the entire system of plans of union republic enterprises, associations, and organizations. We must set up an efficient process of really social production whereby each labor collective is linked by its output and its contracts with dozens and hundreds of other labor collectives—that is a powerful material factor for the consolidation of working people. May the 1990 plan be really a plan of Soviet society's consolidation on the road to complete economic recovery and social progress.

NKAO, Youth Affairs Viewed

LD2509215589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Sep 89

[From the recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet Session on 25 September at the Kremlin in Moscow]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Balayan] A decision has been adopted, with Comrade Gorbachev's signature, to the effect that the Committee on Nationalities Questions and Interethnic Relations should submit its proposals on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] before 1 October 1989. In his speech of 3 August, the penultimate day of the first session, Boris Ilyich Oleynik, who referred to his own speech as an objective one, described the situation which had develpoed in the NKAO, where the Supreme Soviet Commission had been working for 10 days, as an explosive one which had already gone beyond the point where it could be described as a civil war.

It seems to me that now we are talking not about a blockade. For from what has been said from Comrade Voronin's report from the government—that trains have already started running—we are talking only, and only, about a blockade of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. This occurs, at a time when we keep silent about the fact that a blockade has been going on in Karabakh for 18 months. The Nagorno-Karabakh group submitted a deputies' question about this to Comrade Gorbachev on 4 August.

The situation now is, since the decision has been adopted, that we must adhere to this decision until 1 October, and submit a proposal for examination by the Supreme Soviet session on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Thank you.

[Pilnikov] Deputy Pilnikov, Karelia. As a member of the Youth Affairs Committee, I thank the Presidium for responding to the committee's proposal, and on the second group of questions for including a draft law on young people. For my part, I propose that the draft law on the basis of legislation on people's education be included in the second part of our session discussion. At the first session we began discussion on this document. Here it does not appear to be mentioned. I have not, unfortunately, had time to attend the sessions of the Committee on Science and People's Education, but clearly this draft law has not even been touched yet. Still, we have time, and by the end of the session I propose that this draft law be put up for a first reading so that, during the second congress and the subsequent break between congresses, we can put it up for nationwide discussion and publish it at least in IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA. I, of course, realize that we spend the most time on this document and the major burden must lie on the shoulders of the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees involved.

[Gorbachev] So I feel that the Interregional Group is very active, and before the group comments, it will be difficult, you understand, to progress.

[Unidentified deputy] I am speaking not on behalf of the Interregional Group, but on behalf of the Great Urals regions—that is a completely different matter. I will read out a statement. Sharing the concern...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Sit down, sit down, sit down...

[Deputy, continuing]...of the electors in connection with the fact of the opposition to the work of the commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the materials of the Gdlyan investigating group, we propose to include in the immediate agenda of the fall session of the Supreme Soviet, a report by USSR General Procurator Comrade Sukharev. Sverdlovsk, the workers' conference of people's deputies of the Urals region. There are the signatures of people's deputies here. And so far as the Interregional Group resolved to include the same in the agenda—I also voted there—and I also know that the committee on ecology also resolved the same thing. So, I ask on behalf of the deputies to put it to the vote not only to hear, but to include this issue on the agenda, too. We are speaking about the authority of the Supreme Soviet. What kind of authority can the Supreme Soviet have when a parliamentary commission appointed by the Congress is ignored? This is not found in any self-respecting country in the world. Presidents report back, and not only the apparatus. So we should place this point—and then we shall have authority. Thank you for your attention. [applause] [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Soldiers in Nagorno-Karabakh Have Unusual Role

PM2709142989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Rudenko report: "Difficult Days for the Troops: Regarding Events in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 25 Sep—The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops subunits of the Dzerzhinskiy separate motorized rifle division, which arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh after Fergana and Sukhumi, found they had an unexpected role—together with other units in the Special Region they are enlisted into unloading army helicopters, which are delivering foodstuffs, medical supplies, and other important cargo to the oblast center. On the steps of the Mi-26 heavy transport aircraft, which had delivered to Stepanakert the latest consignment of flour for the city, your TASS correspondent met with Private Sergey Romanchenko, who was drafted from Chelyabinsk:

"Our usual service consists of combat training and maintaining public order," he said. "But how can the population be allowed to go without food? In a year's service I and my comrades have repeatedly had to carry out such tasks. Well, a soldier is a soldier. Unloading transportation is not part of our duties, but in blockade conditions the local authorities are in no state to provide normal supplies to the population.

Figures are recorded every morning in the daily report of the internal troops' commander's office. On 23 September, for example, it was noted that 40 tonnes of flour, 3 tonnes of medical supplies, and the same amount of dried milk were delivered. In total about 500 tonnes of goods were delivered by air as of the beginning of the month. They reach Stepanakert even in the worst weather when thick clouds cover the mountain peaks and visibility drops to a minimum. It is difficult to fly in these conditions. And it is not fortuitous that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee awarded prizes a few days ago to the most outstanding military pilots—Lieutenant Colonel A.I. Gladko, Captain G.S. Baygulov, Senior Lieutenant A.S. Meshkov, and Lieutenant A.A. Kovalev.

Colonel V.A. Skorobogatov, chief of the Special Region Commander's office political department, says:

"The personnel is working flat out and has virtually no time or even the conditions to rest. Many subunits are living in tent cities, and are being fed from the field kitchens. The local authorities are dragging out the solution of these questions, although in the conditions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast blockade it is precisely the troops which ensure that the basic systems of the oblast's activity function properly. When the supplies of chlorine to treat the water supply ran out in Stepanakert, the Special Administration committee and the commander's office took all measures for a speedy delivery of this extremely essential freight to the city. As a result widespread intestinal disease and epidemics of other illnesses were averted. The troops guard water intakes and the petroleum depots, deliver foodstuffs and mail, work to unload helicopters and escort convoys carring commodities to Azerbaijan and Armenian population centers. In September alone one in five servicemen were involved in unloading work. With their assistance about 50,000 sheep were brought to their wintering quarters, more than 50 hectares of grapes, vegetables, and fruit was harvested, and 8 schools and vocational and technical schools were repaired.

Escorting the truck convoys occupies a special place among the many additional duties which have fallen to the lot of the internal forces. This is far from safe work. The tragic death of two officials in the USSR MVD operations and investigation group—a Russian and a Moldavian—at the hands of a crowd, which committed excesses near the city of Agdam, is still clear in my memory. A fresh incident occurred when escorting the convoy through Stepanakert—in the vicinity of the electrical equipment plant Private Sergey Pykhteyev from Perm Oblast was wounded near the eye by a homemade explosive device thrown at the soldiers. He was counting on going home in October or November, but now Sergey has a long stay in hospital ahead of him, and it is still not known whether he will be permanently disabled. Yesterday night the Special Region commander's office received a report that a truck with soldiers on board came off a precipice while returning after escorting a family of Azerbaijani refugees to a village in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Private Yevgeniy Ternovykh from Lipetsk Oblast died, and four servicemen sustained bodily injuries of moderate severity.

"The growing aggressiveness toward the servicemen displayed by irresponsible persons concerns us," Major General V.N. Safonov, commander of the Special Region, stresses. "It is time for the provocateurs and the loudmouths to realize that in the situation which has taken shape the military subunits not only are containing a conflagration of interethnic carnage which is ready to flare up, but are also solving many question concerning the population's life support.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains extremely tense. The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Committee and the commander's office are doing everything to relieve the situation, to prevent bloodshed, and the death of women, children and the old folk.

Azerbaijan-Armenia Rail Traffic Flow Increases

*PM2709134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3*

[AZERINFORM-TASS report: "Trains Leave for Armenia"]

[Text] Baku, 26 Sep—Seventeen trains—that is, more than 750 freight cars—traveled along the Azerbaijan Railroad toward Armenia from 1800 on 25 September through 1800 on 26 September.

This is more than the usual through traffic in this direction in 24 hours. Forty-three cars of cement were dispatched along with 66 cars of construction materials, 58 cars of foodstuffs, 66 cars of timber and lumber, 125 cars of ferroconcrete articles, 40 cars of automobile equipment, 144 cars of prefabricated housing, 59 cars of containers, 68 cars of construction freight, 49 cars of ferrous metals and ore, as well as cars carrying machine tools and other equipment.

The trains continue to leave.

Azerbaijan Railway Official Interviewed

LD2609225289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent M. Mamedov video report, in the "Problems Of Our Federation" feature]

[Text] [Announcer] From today the delivery of freight from Azerbaijan to Armenia has resumed:

[Begin video interview] [O.P. Petrenko, first deputy chief of Azerbaijan railway identified by screen caption] Up till today we are planning to hand over some 18 trains to the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasian Railway. The usual norm handed over by us is 16 pairs of trains. [Video shows Petrenko, seated at desk with railway map of Azerbaijan, being interviewed by Mamedov]

Moreover, today we are bringing up two trains for handover via another junction, via another exit onto the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasian Railway, via the Idzhevan junction. [Video shows Petrenko pointing this out on the map]

[Correspondent M. Mamedov identified by screen caption] Could you tell us: the television viewers will certainly be interested to know what goods you are dispatching in the first place.

[Petrenko] The most varied goods: Medicines, food, paper, building materials and other goods.

[Mamedov] Well, a very complicated situation has arisen on the Transcaucasian Railway: Several thousands of railway cars are standing idle. Could you tell us; what measures are you taking in order to deliver them to their destinations in the shortest time possible?

[Petrenko] With respect to the Azerbaijan Railway, a special program has been drawn up for the handover of trains to the Transcaucasian Railway, including to the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasian Railway. This program was used by us at the time when we were transporting goods for the areas of Armenia which had suffered from the earthquake. [End video interview]

Yerevan Railway Chief Discusses Problems

NC1909131689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 15 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The state plan for restoring the earthquake-damaged areas of Armenia is under threat. The construction teams from the various cities and regions of the country who are here to assist have been idling away for the last ten days. The reason for this is that the trains have stopped along the railways of Azerbaijan. The leadership there is holding back the railcars loaded with building materials, consumer goods, and fuel. [passage omitted]

ARMENPRES correspondents asked A.A. Kandilyan, chief of the Yerevan division of Transcaucasian Railways, to explain the situation. He said: The last train passed through Norashen Station on 4 September at 1200 hours on its way to Yerevan. For the last ten days or so the Norashen and Idzevan Stations, which serve trains coming to Armenia by way of Azerbaijan, have been idle. We used to receive 1360 railcars daily; so you yourselves can asses how much we have lost. More than 600,000 tonnes of commodities, including raw materials, building materials, and fuel—which the republic and in particular the earthquake zone need so much—have not been received.

All our efforts to unravel the problem and to somehow ameliorate the situation have produced no results; our Azeri colleagues do not want to talk with us. At Barkhutarli Station, which is within Armenian territory but belongs to Azerbaijan and is not far from Idzevan, two loaded trains have been abandoned. We proposed a few times to cross over and transport the freight with our locomotives; each time we were turned down. We think that this is being done to push Armenia into an inextricable economic situation. It is no secret that because of the earthquake nearly half a million people have remained homeless, there are not sufficient consumer goods and fuel, and that winter lies ahead. How can one reconcile such inhuman treatment with claims of humanism and love of one's neighbor, as the Azeri intellectuals love to say.

Now measures are being taken to stabilize the situation. The USSR Ministry of Communications has altered the routes of the trains carrying freight to Armenia. The trains will arrive on the northern Caucasian Railway by way of Tuabse, Sochi, and Georgia. It is planned that 26 trains will arrive daily from this route. That will form a mere 15 percent of the overall transportation needed. Yet we received only 9 trains on 12 September and 7 on 13 September and therefore there is nothing to be happy about.

In this regard I want to express my anger at the news recently aired by Vremya which said that the strike by the Azerbaijan railways has ended, and the rail services have resumed. PRAVDA also pleased the people with the same news. Believing in them now the directors of the republic's enterprises leaders of the construction and other organizations are phoning us and are demanding freight and are even accusing us of sluggishness. I hereby declare officially: Such report are figments of someone's imagination and are not objective. Since 4 September we received nothing from Azerbaijan, and the central mass media has misled the public.

It is not clear to us what awaits us tomorrow. The only thing that I can say is that through the fault of those who do not allow any loaded trains through on their way to and from Armenia, the country will receive fewer electrical machines, mobile transformers, and cars, and less communications equipment and consumer goods. Extraordinary measures are needed because a (?country) which has a unitary economic structure interlinked by a rail network is not the patrimonial possession of any republic. Besides, no one has the right to exploit the country's rails to solve interethnic problems. If we act in this manner, no one anywhere in the world will show us understanding, and serious damage will be dealt to restructuring.

Railway Chief Interviewed

LD2609225489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent V. Nazaryan video report from railway station in Armenia, and interview with A.A. Kandilyan, chief of the Yerevan division of the Transcaucasian Railways; in the "Problems Of Our Federation" feature]

[Text] [Nazaryan] According to the order of Railways Minister Comrade Konarev, 30 trains were to be handed over to Armenia today. During the night, and in the first half of the day, only 14 arrived—trains loaded mainly with building materials: Gravel, sand, concrete structures and not a single tank car with fuel.

[Kandilyan] We cannot unload them because we don't have either fuel or petrol. If we don't unload the railway cars in time and remove them in time—our stations and junctions are not rubber tracks [as heard]

[Nazaryan] But this is only part of the problem. Among the trains coming from Azerbaijan today there are not only no tank cars with fuel, but there are no railway cars with food. And even the very few that arrived, have arrived in the condition that you can see on the screen. This railway car loaded with potatoes from Gorkiy has been standing under the burning sun somewhere on sidings of the Azerbaijan Railway for over 3 weeks. Now these potatoes are not even fit for cattle feed. [Video shows bags of rotten potatoes on railway car, with flies and maggots crawling around on top of the bags]

[Kandilyan] Who will pay for such great losses which we—our republic—are suffering?

[Nazaryan] And the ice has started to break up—or rather, the drifting of the ice has started.

Regional Officials Comment on Rail Blockade

NC2009091589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 Sep 89

["The Situation Is Grave, Urgent Measures Are Needed"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 15 Sep (ARMENPRES)—The continued blockade of rail transport as a consequence of exacerbated interethnic relations is having a substantial effect on the republic's economy. Thousands of tonnes of freight needed for the national economy and the building materials and machinery dispatched for the earthquake zone are not reaching their destinations. An ARMENPRES reporter asked regional officials of the republic to describe the political and economic situation in their own region, what is being done to surmount the difficulties, and whether it is possible to emerge from the impasse by our own efforts.

Robert Mehrapyan, first secretary of the Megrinskiy Rayon committee: A grave situation has developed in our region. For the last few days, railcars and buses have not been working due to lack of fuel. Communication with the other regions of the republic is maintained by only two aircraft, and we are in a quandary over what to transport with them—the people or freight. [passage omitted]

Karen Mkrtichyan, first secretary of the Ghapanskiy Rayon committee: The economic situation of the republic's mining and metallurgical center in our region has become unstable. In August alone we received no freight trains for 22 days. After settling the issue for a week, the situation again deteriorated.[passage omitted]

Anjela Butadaghyan, chairman of the executive committee of the soviet of people's deputies of Gorisskiy Rayon: Goris is the most convenient locality connecting Armenia with Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. In view of the importance of maintaining communication lines with Stepanakert, the Goris-Lachin road used to carry heavy traffic. However, recently when the NKAO was blockaded, 100 trucks loaded with foodstuffs, building materials, machinery, and other goods remained stranded along the roads. And the impression has been created that this situation bothers no one. [passage omitted]. On numerous occasions it was pointed out that some groups are appearing in areas close to Goris, and this is creating unease. The population, in particular the refugees from Azerbaijan, are depressed; they are not sure that assistance will be on time if an armed attack occurs at the peaceful villages. The Yerevan-Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert-Evlakh road is an important union road, and a section of it is completely surrounded; yet this worries no one. How long? Is it possible to be so indifferent toward the right of a nation in a state based on law? It is the very belief that they will not be punished that has made the blockaders and the authors of the undeclared war so insolent. An end must be put to such acts. Urgent effective measures are needed.

Yuriy Grigoryan, secretary of the Sisyanskiy Rayon committee: To put it simply, the population of our region is extremely uneasy and there are real grounds for it. It is known fact that this year 600 sheep and 100 cattle have been forcibly taken from the grazing lands of the region to Azerbajan's borders. [passage omitted]. We have 2700 homeless. [passage omitted]

Vartan Pashikyan, first secretary of the Noyemberyanskiy Rayon committee: We have a 70-km long border with Azerbaijan and at present for us it has become a zone of unease and tension. Now, we have abandoned important activities and are standing guard in turns near the border because the people are afraid of a surprise attack. How long will this shameful situation continue? [passage omitted]

Blockade Forces Armenian Standstill

LD2309195189 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Leninakan September 23 TASS—There are many building cranes in Leninakan, but all of them are now not at work. There are no building materials, cement and metal constructions. People who came here to help from all over the country and abroad sit twiddling their thumbs.

The critical situation arose because all cargoes on the railway from Azerbaijan have been blocked.

Bulldozers and cranes, which are there to prepare construction sites for builders, have no fuel, and are at a standstill. Armenian builders are somehow being supplied by local enterprises but their capacities are insufficient to ensure the huge requirements of restoration operations. The builders from Russia, the Ukraine, Belrussia and Lithuania are idle, too.

The picture is different in the Artik region where the construction of a whole street in the Lernakert village is in full swing and will soon be completed. Local workers are erecting there houses out of construction sent from the GDR. All the materials were brought in beforehand.

Things are worse in the Akhuryan Region. Houses in the Shirak village are built with the help of the Italian Itarmenia Company which was formed after the natural calamity. Head of the Italian builders Filippo Laccini said, showing an almost empty cement store: "I regret the frustration of deliveries. We could have done much more, we brought all constructions with us, but we need cement and, as I know, it has got stuck somewhere on the road".

'Disrupts' Food Production

NC2409092089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Food production has been disrupted. Armenian agricultural production enterprises produced nearly R35 million of additional goods from the beginning of the year to August. However, in September they failed to provide R23 million of goods to the customers. What was the cause? Why have the republic's reprocessing organizations worked this way at the height of the harvest? Melkonyan, deputy chairman of the agro-industrial complex of the Armenian Republic, says that they failed to prepare nearly 300,000 cans of compote, other canned goods, and baby food daily while hundreds of thousands of consumers in the North and Far East await them. The reason for this state of affairs is that we have not received more than 30 million bottles; the rail cars carrying them are stranded in the stations of the neighboring republic. We are forced to puree the fruits. We had already received and processed 6,000 tonnes of fruits less than normal this season.

We are also unable to dispatch other types of goods to the union trade organizations. Thirty rail cars of table salt have accumulated in the salt combine at Avan. There are 300 tonnes of extra salt. We are even unable to distribute the salt to the population of our republic because there is no gasoline. The situation regarding mineral water is more deplorable. So far, 20 million bottles have been accumulated. Production has stopped because there is no place to put the bottles and no new bottles. The Chermuk water bottling factory has almost stopped operating because all its products are distributed by road.

Shops do not have any macaroni or groat products because flour production has fallen from 50 tonnes per day to 15-20 tonnes. Because of the blockade by our neighbor, we are unable to meet foreign orders for brandy, resulting in the loss of R2 million in foreign currency. At present, a Bulgarian bottling assembly line is sitting in Azerbaijan, and thus the projected capacity of 36,000 bottles daily at the Yerevan nonalcoholic beverages factory is not being achieved. Meanwhile, the Bulgarian experts complain of idleness. Restoration of a dozen of our enterprises damaged in the quake was disrupted because equipment has not been received.

Recently Vremya was able to provide real and factual information about the shortage of tobacco; 400 million (?quintals) of tobacco for which 36 tobacco processing factories in the country wait. This is only a fraction of the blockade's consequences. The months-long blockade of rail cars and freight never appears in the central papers or on television. Yet, not long ago these organs aired the morning strikes [of the Siberian miners] in the evening and then workers thousands of km away complained on television that they were unable to get extra quarterly benefits because spare parts were not being received from Armenia. Now, thousands of workers at a dozen Armenian enterprises are idle and eagerly awaiting supplies. In return for their protest they are getting pathetic statements about friendship—with a hand on the heart—which could be translated to mean: You will get nothing!

Blockade 'Even More Serious in Disaster Zone'

NC2609184389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Years ago even an open discussion about the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was fraught with unforeseeable consequences, the Brezhnev-Aliyev terror was in full swing, and Azerbaijan was considered a fraternal republic. Few could have predicted that years later that same Azerbaijan would take advantage of its geographical position and resort to coercion in the form of a blockade to obstruct a just solution of the NKAO problem. As a result of this blockade, an action usually taken during times of war, tens of thousands of rail cars loaded with the most vital freight are stranded in Azerbaijan railway stations. Despite all this, Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, in a statement to central television shamelessly and unconcernedly speaks about internationalism.

The republic's national economy is in difficulty. Because of shortages of raw materials and fuel, many manufacturing enterprises are not operating. The situation is even more serious in the disaster zone. Winter is approaching and thousands of homeless people are in need of housing. However, the shortages of building materials and fuel mean that thousands of builders who have come here from the various areas of the country must remain idle. [passage omitted]

The road and rail blockade imposed by Azerbaijan against our republic is also causing enormous economic, social, and political damage to the workers in Leninakan. More than R1 million worth of construction work a day is not being done because of the shortages of cement, timber, metals, other building materials, fuel, and diesel oil. [Words indistinct] in many construction sites. Hundreds of workers are idle. The labor collectives of the disaster-stricken city condemn the criminal acts of anti-Armenian Azeri [word indistinct] and express their protest and indignation to the supreme authorities of the country and to the congress of USSR people's deputies.

'No Incidents Reported' in NKAO

NC2509084489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 24 Sep 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] An Armenpres correspondent reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]: Every morning the NKAO internal affairs administration sentry logs all incidents that have taken place in the oblast. However, on the morning of 22 September the log was clean, with no incidents reported. Does this mean calm before a storm or the beginning of a long-awaited calm?

The residents of Artsakh [Armenian name for NKAO] are impatiently waiting for the USSR Supreme Soviet session for which they have many hopes. For the time being the people are buried in the worries of the blockade, and the [words indistinct] is threatening the oblast's life. Great damage has been inflicted on various parts of the economy. The grape harvest has stopped. There are 40,000-50,000 tonnes of unpicked grapes, and if the blockade continues for a few more days, all this fruit will undoubtedly spoil.

The military has been assigned the duty of distributing (?food) to the residents. Recently, military aviation has delivered nearly (?500) tonnes of foodstuffs and staples to Stepanakert.

At any rate, life continues.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decisions Detailed

NC2309132189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 23 Sep 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes on its front page the Armenian Supreme Soviet decision concerning the urgent measures to eliminate tension in the region and the blockade of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The decision notes that Azerbaijan has imposed a premeditated blockade on the republic for the last 2 months and on the NKAO for the last 2 years. This orchestrated action has political objectives. It seeks to undermine any democratic and legal solution of the NKAO problem by resorting to force and to resolve the (?persisting) problems through pressure. The blockade of Soviet Armenia and NKAO is incompatible with the treaty on the formation of the Soviet Union, its existing constitution, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other international conventions signed by the Soviet Union. This unprecedented [word indistinct] and cruel blockade is virtually halting the efforts of all republics, krays, and oblasts in the country, foreign governments, the International Red Cross, and other organizations to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake. The foundations of the Soviet federation are faltering and irreparable damage is being done to our country's international prestige.

The paper also publishes the decision of our republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the suggestions being presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the solution of the NKAO problem. The decision stresses that nearly 2 years have passed since the NKAO soviet of people's deputies, (?in expression) of its unswerving and inextinguishable right to self-determination based on the supreme authority of the Armenian population, decided to withdraw the oblast from the structure of Azerbaijan Republic and reunite it with Soviet Armenia. Because the NKAO problem was raised not by Armenia but by the people of the NKAO, it must be seen as a question of self-determination, especially since the basis for the NKAO's incorporation into the structure of the Azerbaijan Republic was the illegal decision of 5 July 1921 of the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Bolshevik Party, which lacked the authority to make this decision which trampled on the rights of the Armenian people who made up 95 percent of the oblast's population. Given the fact that the 25 February 1988 decision of the NKAO soviet emanates from the oblast population's constitutional right to self-determination and that the Sumgait crime was intented to terrorize the population of the NKAO and turn the problem into an interethnic quarrel, the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia stresses that the NKAO problem is not a dispute between the two neighboring republics, but rather the manifestation of the will of the NKAO people and must be solved on the basis of the national self-determination.

The paper also publishes the Armenian Supreme Soviet decision on safeguarding the security of Armenians living in the Azerbaijan Republic and the NKAO and on the borders of Soviet Armenia and those serving in the Soviet Army.

ARMENPRES Critizes TASS Reporting

NC2209053789 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] During the extraordinary session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet held between 16 and 18 September, ARMENPRES sent an objective report to TASS to inform the Soviet public about this event. Unfortunately, the Soviet news agency published an abridged version of the report, leaving out the real reasons for the increased tension in the region and the blockade of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] and Armenia. ARMENPRES has sent an official protest to TASS' directors on its distortion of the report, its nonobjective reporting on the situation in Armenia, and its failure to inform the country's pepople that the Azeri leadership has blockaded Armenia and the NKAO for some time and that an undeclared war is being waged against the republic in the border areas.

Armenians Question 1921 Russo-Turkish Treaty

NC2409125389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 24 Sep 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] The 10th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia (?which had adjourned on 17 September) resumed its deliberations yesterday at the Hall of Congresses of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

According to the information released, at the morning session, chaired by Tonoyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia, the account of the activities of the Council of Ministers of Soviet Armenia was examined, along with the council's plans to extricate Armenia from its perilous situation. Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and USSR people's deputy, replied to the questions of the deputies.[passage omitted].

Proceeding from the third point of the proposals of the Supreme Soviet of our republic addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the solution of the NKAO problem, the Armenian Supreme Soviet set up a commission to study the legality of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 16 March 1921. The members of the commission include historians, (?sociologists), USSR people's deputies, and deputies of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

During the evening session chaired by Stepanyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia, discussion centered on the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers concerning the resettlement of the refugees and additional measures to improve work in this connection. Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Agro-industrial Committee, and deputy, delivered a report on the issue. [passage omitted].

Thus ended the session of the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia.

Armenian Party Meeting Discusses Diaspora

NC2409132289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] A party meeting has taken place at the main editorial sections for broadcasts to foreign countries of the Armenian State Committee for Television and Radio. The meeting discussed the activities to be undertaken by the main editorial sections in regard to the strengthening of Armenia's relations with the diaspora, the attainment of the national objectives of the Armenian people, the campaign of enlightenment on the 75th anniversary of the genocide of the Armenians, the restoration of the disaster area, the creation of free economic enterprise, and other issues.

The reporters expressed unease at the tendentious stance of the central authorities and press toward Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which find themselves in the cruel fetters of a blockade. The meeting sent a telegram to the party's Central Committee in Moscow, saying: All the communists present at the party organization meeting at the main editorial sections for broadcasts to foreign countries at the Armenian Radio hereby express their indignation at the persistent efforts of Azerbaijan to continue the blockade of Armenia and Karabakh. It is strange that at the CPSU plenum devoted to the interethnic relations this phenomenon was not condemned, rather a position was assumed feigning ignorance of its existence. The people assess this as nothing but a defense of oppression and injustice, and they express their strong protest against the blockade which shamelessly tramples upon the rights of an entire people, and against those who defend this blockade. We demand the immediate lifting of the blockade and the severe punishment of its organizers and patrons , otherwise our country cannot proceed on the course to becoming a democratic and legal state.

Results Examined on Armenian Party Aktiv Meeting

PM2009153589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 5 Sep 89 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "Guided by the Interests of the People. Meeting of the Republic's Party Aktiv"]

[Text] The results of the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee between members and candidate members of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus were examined at a meeting of the republic's party aktiv held 4 September in Yerevan.

Taking part in its work were members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, members of the Armenian Communist Party Auditing Commission, senior officials from the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, first secretaries of party city committees [gorkoms] and party rayon committees [raykoms], secretaries of a number of primary party organizations, leaders of ministries and departments, soviet and social organizations, enterprises, institutions, and higher educational establishments, and press spokesmen.

Taking part in the meeting of the aktiv were Comrades S. Arutyunyan, G. Asatryan, G. Voskanyan, G. Galoyan, T. Dilanyan, O. Lobov, V. Markaryants, M. Mkrtchyan, V.Movsisyan, S. Petrosyan, L. Saakyan, M. Serobyan, G. Martirosyan, G. Oganyan and senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee V. Shevelev and V. Boyarkin.

S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on the meeting of members and candidate members of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus.

Participating in the discussion were: U. Arutyunyan, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of internal affairs; G. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; K. Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations With Armenians Abroad; R. Simonyan, head of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History; V. Khachatryan, first secretary of Gugarkskiy Raykom; G. Ayrapetyan, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; R. Aleksanyan, first secretary of the Gorisskiy Raykom; V. Galumyan, chairman of the "Armles" Production Association; A. Gomtsyan, first secretary of the Gukasyanskiy Raykom; L. Akhverdyan, director of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Arts; S. Pogosyan, director of ARMENPRESS; N. Akopyan, chairman of the Armenian Women's Council; R. Ovanesyan, chairman of the Armenian Union of Writers Board; and L. Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

The republic's party aktiv expressed extreme concern about the sharp exacerbation of the situation in the region and, fully sharing the working people's alarm at the prevailing crisis situation, noted that relations between the two republics can be normalized given steps to meet each other halfway and a joint quest for a reasonable compromise.

The party aktiv noted that the key to stabilization and improving the situation lies in solving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The party aktiv stressed that it is particularly important to restore the refugees' civil rights, house them, pay them cash compensation for damages, provide guarantees of security for the population, ensure the uninterrupted operation of rail and motor transport on the territory of both republics, and lift the blockade of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

A resolution was adopted on the question under discussion which approved the activity of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau at the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee. Despite all the complexity of interethnic relations in the region, the resolution says, there is no question that could not be solved given mutual tolerance and deep interest in the future of the two peoples. Through the efforts of both republics, and primarily party, soviet, and social organizations, it is necessary to do everything to remove step by step the questions that have accumulated and conduct a constructive dialogue at all levels.

The resolution noted that the dialogue which took place in Moscow may be a positive step on the road to ending the escalating tension in mutual relations between the two republics, normalizing interethnic relations, expanding ties between Armenian and Azerbaijani republican and local organs, and ensuring a democratic solution to the NKAO problem.

At the aktiv meeting it was decided to hold meetings and talks with members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in the republic's party organizations and labor collectives in order to extensively inform Communists and working people about the results of the Moscow meeting.

Gorkoms and raykoms and the relevant ministries and departments in the republic were charged with the task of elaborating and implementing concrete measures for the practical fulfillment of the accords reached at the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting of the republic's aktiv asked the CPSU Central Committee to speed up the examination of the NKAO question.

S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee summed up the meeting of the republic's aktiv.

Churches Returned to Armenian Catholicosate

NC2309122289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Acceding to the request of believers in a number of regions, the Armenian Council of Ministers has returned the 13th-century Hakhpat monastery, the 13th-century St Tadevos Church in Dtmashen village in Sevan region, the 13th-century St Nshan Church in Yeghvart, the 15th-century St Grigor Illuminator Church in Goris, and the 19th-century St Ripsime Church in Ghapan to the Catholicosate of Edzhmiatsin. The Council of the Armenian

Church Affairs attached to the Armenian Council of Ministers stated that all the churches were restored by the main administration for the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Debate on Language Viewed

PM2709114589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondents V. Ardayev and E. Matskevich report under general heading "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The 2-day 14th session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted four new laws: On Amendments and Additions to the Republic's Constitution; On Languages; On Elections of Kazakh SSR People's Deputies; and On Elections of Local Soviet Deputies.

The discussion of this package of most important documents in such a limited timeframe was far from simple. The Presidium, newspaper editorial offices, and the radio and television received letters containing proposals, comments, and amendments. Consequently, at the start of the session, the Legislative Proposals Commissions proposed introducing amplifications to 80 of the 127 articles of just three of the draft laws (on amendments and additions to the constitution, on elections of people's deputies, and on elections of local soviet deputies). But even this substantial amendment hardly diminished the heat of the session debate.

Nonetheless the main topic was, as expected, the discussion of the draft Law "On Languages in the Kazakh SSR." At one time the republic was preparing to give the status of statehood to Kazakh-Russian bilingualism. But the draft law published 1 month before the session was already talking about just one state language—Kazakh, while Russian was assigned the role of the language of interethnic contacts. This produced divergent opinions. The divergence was aggravated mainly by another of the draft's articles, according to which leaders and officials in systematic contact with citizens of different nationalities must know both Kazakh and Russian, while those in areas of population concentration must also know the languages of other ethnic and national groups. Many people perceived this as a sign of coercion and infringement of civil rights even during the public discussion phase. This is why the article had already been amended in the draft submitted to the session: Now it was made incumbent on officials "to ensure that the applicant's language is in use at reception sessions and discussions" by 1995, and to have mandatory knowledge of Kazakh and Russian and, if necessary, the language of the people in a given area by the year 2000 and regardless of their nationality. This provided a fresh cause of arguments.

Following a stormy debate, the disputed article was given a formulation according to which officials are instructed to ensure that the applicant's language is used during reception sessions and discussions with citizens and, as the appropriate conditions are created, to master Kazakh and Russian and, in other national environments, the language of the nationality in question. The law was adopted by a majority of votes in this version, and subject to a series of amendments.

The session adopted a resolution "On Measures for the Further Implementation of Political Reform in the Republic," scheduled the elections of local soviet deputies and Kazakh SSR people's deputies to be held in 3 and 4 months' time respectively, and constituted a Central Electoral Commission for the election and recall of Kazakh SSR people's deputies.

Kazakh Supreme Soviet Begins Session 21 Sep

LD2109175689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation began its work in Alma-Ata today. [21 September]

[Corespondent] The attention of the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet is focused on draft laws of the Kazakh SSR on amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR, on languages, on elections of the Kazakh SSR people's deputies and on elections to local soviets. [video shows deputies and speakers at session]

The draft law on languages has evoked particular interest among the republic's public and therefore also among the deputies. The three main basic principles of the draft are: giving state status to the Kazakh language, giving rights of equality with it to Russian—the language of interethnic contact—and broadly developing the languages of other ethnic groups and nationalities residing within the territory of the republic. A discussion involving the whole people has shown that an absolute majority of those expressing a view agree with these principles.

The objectivity of such an approach to the language problem was incidentally confirmed too at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

[Video shows interview with M.K. Suleymenov, deputy of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet] [Suleymenov] Discussion of this problem at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that has just been held and the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reflect the very complex picture of the nationalities issue. I think that certain people fear that it will be necessary to learn other languages and, if it is necessary to move, for instance, to another republic this will also cause complications. I myself do not see these complications. My personal practice shows that I have had occasion, for instance, without even any language environment to learn Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian, not to mention English and German. All this is fully possible, and the chief condition in this respect is a willingness and seemliness in the area of attitudes toward another people.

[Video shows interview with A.M. Mezentsev, USSR people's deputy] [Mezentsev] I think that this work of the Supreme Soviet session is precisely concrete activity, that is to say, it is already a concrete embodiment of the decisions adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Things should not be done by means of compulsion or imposition from above. It is necessary to make our union and our federation precisely one where people unit in friendship on a voluntary basis, and then it will be impossible in any way to sever this friendship.

President Sagdiyev Reports

LD2109214989 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Alma-Ata September 21 TASS—A special session of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet opened in Alma-Ata today [21 September]. It will discuss a package of documents which will promote the political reform in Soviet Kazakhstan. The discussion focussed on questions of creating a new structure of power and government in the republic and its regions, cities and districts. The session listened to a report of Makhtay Sagdiyev, president of the Presidium of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet.

The session had been preceded by a wide discussion of the draft laws on amendments to the Kazakh Constitution (fundamental law) and on elections of people's deputies of the republic and local soviets, as well as a law on languages in Soviet Kazakhstan.

The deputies were interested in the proposal to limit the tenure of top and local government bodies to five years so that deputies at all levels could acquire professional skills. This will be practiced for the first time since 1936.

The setting up of presidiums at regional, city and district soviets to coordinate the activities of the local authorities could relieve executive committees of purely organisational functions by concentrating the economic management and questions of social and cultural development of their territories in their hands.

The deputies also suggested that a committee for constitutional compliance be set up and that the People's Control Committee be given the right of a legislative initiative.

The session will continue its work on Friday.

Drug Smugglers Detained in Termez

LD2209164289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Together with the customs officers members of the Uzbekistan KGB have detained four smugglers in the border town of Termez. They were trying to smuggle 20 kg of opium into the USSR from Afghanistan. The narcotics were discovered in jerricans. Apart from this, another 5 kg of opiates and hashish were found during search. More than R800,000 were confiscated from the smugglers. All the smugglers are USSR citizens. The investigation continues.

Chairman of Ukrainian Popular Movement Interviewed

AU2109165989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Sep 89 p 6

[Telephone interview with Ivan Fedorovich Drach, chairman of the "Ukrainian Popular Movement for Reconstruction" (Rukh), by Manfred Rowold: "Drach: The Law Ought To Have Priority in the State"—date not given]

[Text] The "Ukrainian Popular Movement for Reconstruction" (Ruch) constituted itself at the republican level in Kiev; Ivan Fedorovich Drach was elected chairman. CPSU member Drach is an author and writes movie scripts. Manfred Rowold conducted a telephone conversation with him.

Rowold: PRAVDA has blamed your movement for most of the people who spoke at the foundation congress delivering anti-Soviet and antisocialist speeches. Do you regard perestroyka as the way out of socialism?

Drach: Both PRAVDA and PRAVDA UKRAINY informed their readers wrongly, because most speakers were communists. Now, how could they have delivered anti-Soviet speeches and speeches against the party? This does certainly not mean that there were exclusively communists; there were also representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki group. Levko Lukyanenko, who had been in prison for 27 years, made an appearance. He could certainly not have been expected to speak out in favor of the current party apparatus. I think that most of the speeches were constructive, because they were delivered by educated people, including members of our Academy of Sciences. These people represent the high level of public conscience here in the Ukraine. There were also very sharp speeches, but this is natural in any pluralistic society. This is what we are striving for, and with our meeting we have anticipated it, so to speak. It must be possible that differing opinions are expressed and exist side by side.

Do I think that perestroyka is the way out of socialism? If we are talking of Stalin or Brezhnev-style socialism, then my answer is of course, yes. I don't think that we can talk about socialism in simple terms considering what writer Aitmatov has declared here—that real socialism has already been created in Sweden. Then we can only try to achieve something similar here.

Rowold: In Ruch's draft program, one could read that your movement recognizes the leading political role of the CPSU. At the founding congress this passage was deleted. Why?

Drach: Because the CPSU is itself pleading for the establishment of a law-governed state. Law should have priority in the state. I think that once we recognize this, those members within the party will become influential—like the other members of our popular movement—who particularly distinguish themselves by their knowledge and correctness.

Rowold: What do you expect of the CPSU platform on the nationality question?

Drach: I expect a lot, because to date, this question has never been seriously discussed. One ought to include Lenin's last works (on the sovereignty of the nations—the editors) in the party's programmatic documents.

Rowold: What are your goals?

Drach: Yesterday there was a rally in Kiev, organized by the leadership of the Kiev party apparatus. Ruch was condemned as a movement which mainly represents anti-Soviet positions. It is absolutely necessary that our documents reach the people in great numbers. Those people that have been wrongly informed by the mass media.

In the long run, we attach great importance to local elections and language regulations in the Ukraine. There will soon be a plenary session of the writers' association. We will, of course, use our strength for solving our problems following the Chernobyl tragedy. This is our specific concern for our children.

Radioecological Level in Ukraine 'Not Hazardous'

LD2309182389 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Kiev September 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Alexeiy Petrunya:

According to the conclusion of scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, the levels of controlled atomic power station discharges in the republic do not exceed now admissible world norms, and in most cases they are even lower, and are not hazardous to human health. This was reported at a meeting of the republican Council of Ministers' standing extaordinary commission for elimination of the consequences of accidents, catastrophies and natural calamities. The commission discussed radioecological conditions in the areas of the functioning atomic power stations.

There are five atomic power stations, namely the Chernobyl, Rovno, Khmelnitskiy, South Ukraine and Zaporozhye, on the territory of the republic. Control over the radiation conditions in their 30 kilometer zones is being carried out by special services. The rest of the territory is controlled by 38 stations of the hydrometeorological observation system.

The radioecological situation in the Ukraine is mainly determined by radio nuclides, that appeared after April 1986 when the Chernobyl accident took place, it was noted at the meeting. Contamination is not uniform in the republic as a whole. It is characteristic of northern and northwestern areas that suffered most from the accident. The influence of other stations is local, i.e. limited, as a rule, to the bounds of 30 kilometer zones. The commission outlined steps to provide outer dosimetry and radiation safety services with the necessary instruments and equipment. The republican Public Health Ministry had to increase sanitary supervision over the radiation conditions in the atomic power station zones.

The governmental commission discussed the results of operations to decontaminate the areas which were subjected to radiation pollution by the Chernobyl accident. This work is being carried out in all 128 settlements of the Kiev and Zhitomir regions where caesium contamination density is 15 curies and higher per square kilometer.

Roundup on Ethnic Activites in Moldavia, Ukraine

LD2309142989 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS—By TASS Commentator Vladimir Novikov:

The situation in Moldavia, where most factories were hit by strikes for more than three weeks, remains complicated. Although most strikers are now back at work, over 100 enterprises in the two larger cities—Tiraspol and Bendery—are still idle.

Their workers are continuing the stoppage in protest against the Moldavian Supreme Soviet's recent language laws which they believe infringe upon the rights of the Russian-speaking population and run counter to the national constitution.

A bill on republican and local elections has, in the meantime, been offered for public discussion in Moldavia. It provides for polling to be held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The draft law bans any direct or indirect restrictions of voter rights depending on race or nationality, origins, social or property status, sex, education, language or length of residence in a given locality.

Interethnic relations are also the focus of attention of an ideological commission recently formed by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

In order to improve the study and propaganda of Moldavian history, it has also been decided to set up a sector on interethnic relations at the party history institute. A commission of leading scientists and public figures will be established to take stock of archives and ensure free access to them for researchers. A special programme has been adopted for publishing books on Moldavian history.

In general, most developments in the Soviet Union recently have been connected with the far from simple interethnic relations. Speaking at a recent Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, Mikhail Gorbachev described the situation in this field as rather complicated.

Related issues remain in the limelight for the public not only in Moldavia but also in other Soviet Republics.

The first collection of verses in the Polessye tongue, one of the most ancient Slavic dialects spoken by people living along the Pripyat River and in the middle reaches of the Bug, has been brought out in Minsk.

Called "Destiny", the book was prepared by Yunost (youth) publishers. But its idea belongs to the Polessye Association uniting young writers, scientists and journalists determined to revive the dialect.

Hungarian language studies have been added to the syllabi of over 60 secondary schools in Transcarpathia, a Ukrainian region inhabited, among others, by 179,000 Hungarians. The region has a Hungarian culture society and Hungarian performing arts groups and it is also planned to open a Hungarian theatre.

Some of the local radio and television programms are also in Hungarian as are several newspapers and magazines. Entrance exams to Uzhgorod University may be taken in Hungarian as well.

The first Ukrainian pop music festival, meanwhile, has been staged in Chernovtsy. Starring more than 500 performers, it aimed to revive the traditions of Ukrainian popular songs and discover new talents.

Entrants included singers not only from the Ukraine but also from Moscow, Leningrad, Byelorussia and the Baltic region as well as from Canada, Argentina, the United States, Yugoslavia, Australia and other countries where Ukrainians live.

The Ukrainian town of Novgorod-Severskiy, the site of events described in the famous ancient Russian epic "the lay of Igor's campaign", celebrated its 1,000th anniversary, highlighted by the unveiling of a monument to the epic's main characters.

Moldavian Intellectuals Address Republic Issues

18001655 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Bugelskiy: "With Pain and Passion"]

[Text] "What the Intelligentsia of the Republic is Alarmed By, What it is Calling and Fighting For"—this is the subtitle of a sharp issue-oriented collection of articles published in Kishinev.

This peculiar Moldavian analog of the all-union collection of articles "There Is No Other Way," which has become popular, is called "How Much It Hurts..." The reader has an opportunity to form (or enhance substantially) his own understanding of the origins of the current complex situation in Moldavia.

The preface says: "Almost none of the materials collected here were written especially for this book; all of them have there origins in the live need of the authors—writers, journalists, scientists—to immediately interfere in the course of events, change it for the better, and aid perestroyka which is picking up steam with great difficulty. The concept of the collection developed at the end of last year, 1988..."

It would appear that some of the issues have already been resolved: a session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic has spoken, declaring Moldavian to be the state language operating on the basis of Latin script, while at the same time guaranteeing the status of Russian as the language of international communication, and also guaranteeing the rights of other languages of the population of Moldavia. However, the tension has not been relieved, and strikes are continuing; however, many acute economic, social, and ecological problems of the republic are still on the agenda. How could they be resolved overnight? In this sense, the materials collected in the book have not ceased to be current.

Here is one more point. Most of the appeals and letters in the collection "How Much It Hurts..." have been published in Moldavian periodicals, in the newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTE and the journal NISTRU; however, some pieces—by I. Drutse, K. Kozhevnikova, G. Malarchuk—were first published by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA....

Resolution on Belorussian Economy Published

PM2509073189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 89 Morning Edition pp 1-2

["USSR Council of Ministers Resolution on Immediate Measures To Transfer Belorussian SSR as of 1990 to New Conditions of Economic Management on Basis of Self-Management and Self-Financing"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Attaching great significance to enhancing the effectiveness of the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics and reinforcing their independence, responsibility, and interest in achieving high end results in economic activity and strengthening the country's unified economic complex and with a view to preparing for the transition of all union republics to self-management and self-financing in the 13th 5-Year Plan, the USSR Council of Ministers resolves that:

1. The proposal of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers to test by way of an experiment and rehearse as of January 1990 the new mechanism for territorial economic activity based on self-management and self-financing be adopted.

The following must be ensured as most important tasks and areas in this work:

an increase in the social orientation of the economy on the basis of the enhancement of its efficiency and consistent implementation of the principle of earning money to further increase the people's well-being;

comprehensive development and active use of the advantages of the intraunion division of labor and labor sharing and an increase in the republic's contribution to the implementation of general state tasks;

improvement of economic methods of management and creation of the requisite conditions for highly efficient activity by all enterprises and organizations in the republic irrespective of departmental subordination while strictly observing their economically accountable rights as envisaged by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the USSR Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR;

strengthening of the financial and economic base of local self-management, development of the initiative of soviets of people's deputies, and broad participation by the population in resolving local questions of economic and social development.

With this in view, the USSR Council of Ministers resolves that a complex of measures be implemented to broaden the sphere of the republic's economic activity and its autonomy in managing socioeconomic development and strengthening its financial base.

Broadening Republic's Sphere of Economic Activity and Autonomy in Managing Socioeconomic Activity

2. To ensure the dynamic and comprehensive development of the Belorussian SSR's economy and to broaden the republic's potential and increase its responsibility for meeting the population's growing needs, it is deemed necessary to concentrate in its charge leadership of the agro-industrial complex, consumer goods production, the sociocultural and other sectors in the services sphere, the republican production infrastructure, the construction complex, nature conservation, and other types of activity directly linked with the population's daily life.

In accordance with this:

A) By 1 October 1989, USSR ministries and departments must transfer to the charge of the Belorussian SSR in the prescribed manner enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments under their jurisdiction and situated on the republic's territory as of 1 July 1989, in accordance with the appendix [published below—FBIS].

It is laid down that questions relating to the transfer to Belorussian SSR control of other enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions which are under union jurisdiction, specialize in consumer goods production, and work largely to provide for the republic's needs be examined and resolved by the permanent organs of the USSR Council of Ministers at the proposal of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments must:

Do their utmost to help create concerns, consortiums, intersectoral state associations, various associations outside departmental jurisdiction, cooperative, lease, and joint enterprises, and other progressive organizational forms of production management while taking the opinion of labor collectives into consideration;

ensure that the enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments being transferred to the republic retain their existing economic ties with regard to shipments of output and goods under subcontracting arrangements.

In connection with the aforementioned transfer of enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments, the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the USSR Ministry of Finance must make corresponding modifications to the indicators of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the USSR State Budget for 1990 with regard to the breakdown of departmental responsibility [v adresnom razreze] without changing the overall economic proportions and indicators for the country's economic development as a whole;

B) It is laid down that, in respect of the corresponding ministries and departments of the Belorussian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment, and the USSR State Committee for Forestry perform the functions linked with implementing a unified scientific and technical policy, with organizing the resolution of all-union and most important interrepublican and intersectoral tasks, with fulfilling the USSR's international treaties, conventions, and pledges, with methodological support for activity in corresponding sectors of the social sphere, and also with the material and technical supply of certain centrally allocated resources (medical equipment, medicines, and others);

C) It is agreed in accordance with the proposal made by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers to transform the Belorussian SSR union republic Ministries of Light Industry, Grain Products, Timber Industry, and Land Reclamation and Water Resources along with the State Committee for the Press into corresponding republican organs of management under the Belorussian SSR;

D) It is recommended that the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Central Union of Consumer Societies, the USSR Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, the "Dinamo" All-Union Physical

Culture and Sport Society, and other public organizations and creative unions examine within a month the proposals by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers regarding the transfer of enterprises, associations, and organizations situated on the territory of the Belorussian SSR to the jurisdiction of the corresponding republic organs of these public organizations, creative unions, and the republic's Academy of Sciences.

3. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Academy of Sciences, together with the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Construction, and the USSR Ministry of Finance must elaborate and implement in 1989-1990 measures to improve the system of managing scientific and technical progress, clarify the specialism, and, where necessary, reorganize and eliminate scientific and design organizations and institutions located on the republic's territory, along with the procedure for and sources of financing scientific research carried out by the Belorussian SSR's Academy of Sciences and other ministries and departments. Proposals must be presented to the USSR Council of Ministers on questions requiring solution by the USSR Government.

4. It is laid down that the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers independently determines the composition and structure of the republic's organs of management, the number of personnel, and expenditure on wages.

5. It is deemed necessary to extend the powers of Belorussian SSR management organs in the sphere of planning.

It is laid down that the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1990 envisages and conveys to the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers only indicators regarding the republic's participation in resolving statewide tasks and strengthening the country's unified national economic complex, namely:

the state order, which must be included in the republic's plan, for the supply of most important types of industrial and agricultural output, food, and other consumer goods to all-union stocks (including interrepublican deliveries), for the commissioning from state centralized capital investments of highly important production capacities and environmental protection facilities of all-union significance and also those linked with the fulfillment of international commitments relating to environmental protection, and for the republic's involvement in the implementation of statewide programs;

quotas for centrally allocated material and technical resources for state centralized capital investments and construction and installation work, and also quotas for contract work for the list of construction projects where capacities are being created under the state order.

The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments must make more extensive use in the practice of territorial economic activity of contractual mutually beneficial relations for deliveries of output, performance of work, and provision of services.

The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers must be given the right to independently determine the areas for the use of capital investments financed by the republic's budget, to establish a state (republic) order for the commissioning of sociocultural facilities for contract construction organizations under its jurisdiction, and also to draw up itemized lists for design and survey work and new production and nonproduction construction projects financed by the republic's budget, irrespective of their estimated cost.

It is laid down that the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers draws up the comprehensive plan for the republic's economic and social development under the procedure determined by the republic's legislation and submits it to the USSR Council of Ministers.

6. In the 1990 plan, the USSR Gosplan must set the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers quotas for the appropriate centrally allocated resources (in addition to resources for capital construction, which is supplied with material resources via wholesale trade) for economic activity under its jurisdiction (with separate quotas for the agro-industrial complex), and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] must do the same for the Belorussian SSR Gossnab for all enterprises and organizations located on the republic's territory, irrespective of their departmental subordination (apart from defense sectors), without allocating resources among sectors and areas.

Strengthening Financial and Budgetary Base

7. Proceeding on the basis of the tasks of financially improving the economy and implementing the principle of self-financing, it is laid down that the Belorussian SSR's national economic requirements are ensured by its own financial resources in view of the payment into its budget of some of the profit (income) of state enterprises, associations, and organizations under union jurisdiction. The republic is granted autonomy in disposing of the aforementioned resources and in planning and implementing the budget.

8. It is envisaged that income and expenditure within the 1990 Belorussian SSR State Budget will be based on the following theses:

A) The republic's budgetary income includes:

all payments from the profit (income) of enterprises and organizations under its jurisdiction (payment for production capital, payments from operating profit [income]);

all payments for land, water, and manpower resources by all enterprises and organizations situated on the republic's territory;

income from all local taxes and dues levied on the population, taxes paid by vehicle owners, and also taxes on cooperative enterprises and the republic's public organizations;

income from exports and customs revenue relating to goods and services exported and imported by enterprises, associations, and organizations under republic and local jurisdiction;

other revenue and payments in accordance with USSR and Belorussian SSR legislation.

Approval is to be given to the USSR Ministry of Finance proposal, coordinated with the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, to incorporate in the Belorussian SSR State Budget for 1990 86 percent of the total turnover tax received from the republic, 50 percent of the income tax paid by workers and employees, 50 percent of the money from the 1982 State Internal Lottery Loan, and 20 percent of the payments from the profits (income) of enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction (payment for production capital, payments from operating profit [income]). The aforementioned proposals are to be submitted for ratification by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

B) The republic's funds are used for the following purposes:

to implement capital investments for the construction of production facilities for economic activity under its jurisdiction and for the republican and local infrastructure, urban transportation (including the subway), republican and local highways, airports for local airlines, apartment blocks, preschool establishments, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, and other sociocultural and consumer service facilities;

to finance amenities for cities, worker settlements, and other population centers, the maintenance and repair of the housing stock, the network of general-purpose state highways, health care, scientific, educational and cultural, and social security establishments, and also environmental protection measures;

to compensate for the difference in the prices of meat and dairy products, sugar, and canned fruit and vegetables consumed in the republic;

to cover the running costs of republican and local organs of power and management, people's courts, the republic's state arbitration services, and notarial offices;

to form the reserve fund of the republic's Council of Ministers;

to finance other expenditure for economic and social development.

The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers independently determines areas for the use of budgetary funds, the composition, size, and priorities for implementation of budgetary expenditure, including reserve funds, in accordance with existing legislation.

9. Appropriations for payments to nonworking pensioners and allowances to low-income families are transferred to the Belorussian SSR State Budget for 1990 from the State Social Insurance Budget.

10. With a view to extending the Belorussian SSR's autonomy in forming and implementing the republic's budget for 1990, the republic's Council of Ministers is to be granted the following additional rights in determining the budget's income base:

the right to set for enterprises under its jurisdiction rates of profits tax and normatives for the payment for production capital, and also normatives for payments for manpower resources, land, and water, along with the right to give them, where necessary, abatements and rebates. Rates of payment for land, water, and manpower resources are set on the basis of all-union methodology, can be differentiated for individual oblasts (rayons) of the republic according to the economic evaluation of the level of provision of land, water, and manpower resources, and must be unified and stable for all enterprises in a given oblast (rayon). To ensure the stability of the normatives for payments into the budget from profits and for contributions to central and other funds set for enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction in the 5-year plan, the existing rates of payment for manpower and natural resources are to be retained for them in 1990;

the right to independently introduce new and abolish existing local taxes and levies on the population and to determine the procedure for introducing and abolishing them;

the right, on the basis of all-union methodological principles and USSR legislation, to set rates of tax to be paid by the population (apart from income tax) and rates of tax on the income (profit) of cooperative and other public organizations, and also abatements on these taxes;

the right to enlist additional financial resources and to create extrabudgetary funds (at the disposal of both republican and local organs) using money from the population and enterprises on a strictly voluntary basis, by issuing bonds, floating republican and local loans, holding lotteries with prizes in the form of cash or goods, receiving voluntary contributions from enterprises and citizens, and using other sources. The aforementioned funds also receive sums levied on enterprises for environmental pollution and uncomprehensive use of raw materials.

11. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers is to be granted the right within the limits of the earned funds:

to increase expenditure (over and above the statewide guaranteed level) on the upkeep of public health, educational, cultural, social security, and sports establishments;

to set expenditure for the upkeep of the republic's organs of power and management;

to introduce increases and additional payments on top of the salaries of personnel in public health, educational, and cultural establishments and in other sectors maintained on funds from the republic's budget;

to introduce additional payments on top of wages and determine a system of bonuses for personnel of the republic's organs of power and management;

to increase the guaranteed levels of social benefits laid down on a statewide basis (apart from the size of pensions) and to introduce additional grants and allowances to help families with children, invalids, and other needy citizens.

To provide financial resources to cover the republic's envisaged expenditure on economic and social development, the republic may utilize funds from the union budget and other republics' budgets on condition that the money is repaid with interest [na usoliviyakh vozvratnosti i platnosti].

12. It is laid down that the appropriate Belorussian SSR bodies independently elaborate and ratify the republic's budget and present it within the prescribed timeframe to the USSR Council of Ministers for incorporation into the USSR State Budget.

The procedure for drawing up and implementing the Belorussian SSR State Budget is determined by the republic's legislation in accordance with general methodological principles of planning and financing. The demarcation of income and expenditure in the Belorussian SSR budget between the republican budget and local budgets is determined by Belorussian SSR legislation (unless otherwise established by USSR legislation for individual types of income) while taking into account the need to strengthen their financial base to the maximum.

13. It is laid down that extra income obtained in 1990 (or savings in expenditure) remain completely at the disposal of the Belorussian SSR. The union budget does not provide compensation for lost income and additional expenditure. Spare balances in republican and local budgets at the end of the year are not subject to confiscation and are used the following year for purposes determined by the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

If USSR legislative acts or USSR Council of Ministers decisions are issued which entail an increase in expenditure or a reduction in income for the Belorussian SSR State Budget, that budget receives compensation in the form of funds from the union budget; if there is a reduction in expenditure or an increase in income for the republic's State Budget, the corresponding sums are transferred to the union budget. If the Belorussian SSR Government adopts legislative acts and decisions which entail a reduction in income or an increase in expenditure for the union budget, the corresponding sums are transferred from the republic's budget to the union budget.

14. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers is granted the right:

to regulate money circulation within the emission limits laid down by the cash plan and also to utilize over the course of the year savings made in emissions in previous quarters, while the USSR Council of Ministers retains the right to organize the emission of money;

to independently dispose of credit resources formed on the republic's territory from residual balances in the accounts of enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments, funds from the republican and local budgets, the population's money on deposit, and also bank funds.

The size of the funds transferred by the Belorussian Republic Bank of the USSR State Bank [Gosbank] to the Centralized Fund for Regulating Credit Resources is established in accordance with the normative determined by the USSR Gosbank by agreement with the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

15. The USSR Ministry of Finance must elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers in the 4th quarter of 1989 proposals regarding the procedure for paying off overdue debts regarding the payment of price differentials for livestock and milk and supplements to purchase prices for agricultural output.

16. It is laid down that on the basis of unified statewide principles the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers independently determines in 1990 the procedure for elaborating and ratifying:

wholesale, purchase, and retail prices and tariffs for output, goods, and services produced and consumed mainly within the republic (apart from prices and tariffs established under existing legislation by the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Committee for Prices, USSR ministries and departments, enterprises, cooperatives, and public organizations);

prices and tariffs for all types of consumer, municipal (including rent and payment for the use of urban and public motor transport), and other paid services available to the population on the republic's territory.

17. To develop and deepen the Belorussian SSR's economic ties with foreign states and firms and to consistently implement the principle of hard-currency cost-recovery and self-financing, it is deemed necessary to extend the republic's rights in foreign economic activity. It is laid down that the republic has jurisdiction over:

the formation of republican and regional foreign economic organizations and supervision of their work;

the resolution of questions of setting up organizations abroad to represent the interests of enterprises, associations, and organizations situated on the republic's territory and engaged in foreign economic activity, and also questions of opening missions for foreign firms, banks, and organizations on the republic's territory;

promoting the development of direct production and scientific and technical ties with foreign organizations and firms;

the resolution of questions of setting up joint ventures, international associations, and organizations involving Soviet organizations and firms, both on the republic's territory and abroad;

the expansion of border trade;

the development of foreign tourism and its material and technical base, and the conclusion of agreements between foreign firms and all-union tourist organs regarding cooperation in this sphere;

the implementation on a commercial basis of international deliveries, trade fairs, symposiums, cultural, sporting, and other events, and also advertising activity.

The Belorussian SSR forms the republic's hard-currency fund and independently resolves questions of its utilization in accordance with existing legislation. Union bodies bear no liability for commitments undertaken by republican bodies nor republican bodies for those undertaken by union bodies.

Together with the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance must elaborate and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers in the 4th quarter of 1989 proposals regarding the procedure for forming the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers hard-currency fund in 1990, ensuring that it receives a proportion of the income earned by all enterprises and organizations situated on the republic's territory from foreign economic activity.

18. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers must ensure the timely implementation of the requisite organizational work to restructure the leadership of the economic and social sphere in the republic on the basis of self-financing and self-management. Immediate attention must be paid to refining the new mechanism for economic activity at oblast, city, and rayon levels in view of the tasks of democratizing and decentralizing management.

19. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Ministry of Finance must generalize the first results of economic activity in the Belorussian SSR on the basis of self-management and self-financing and report them to the USSR Council of Ministers before 1 August 1990.

List of Enterprises, Associations, Organizations, and Establishments Transferred From Union Jurisdiction to Jurisdiction of Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers

The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building Mogilev Science and Production Association for the Development and Production of Equipment and Automated and Mechanized Systems.

The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building Smolevichi Mechanical Plant.

The USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building Volkovysk Roofing and Construction-Finishing Machinery Plant.

The Minsk branch of the USSR Ministry of Heavy Machine Building All-Union Mechanized and Manual Construction and Installation Instrument, Oscillator, and Construction-Finishing Machines Research and Design Institute.

The USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making "Zaspetsavtomatika" Production Association for the Installation and Adjustment of Automated Systems, Minsk City.

The USSR Gosstroy Mozyr Land Reclamation Machinery Plant.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry Brest Domestic Chemical Plant.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry Krichev Rubber Goods Plant.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry Mineral Wax Plant, Minsk Oblast.

The USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry Minsk Chemical Plant.

The USSR Ministry of Water Resources Construction Belorussian Land Reclamation and Water Resources Research Institute.

The USSR Ministry of Water Resources Construction Gomel Metal Structures Plant.

The experimental mechanical plant under the former USSR Ministry of Grain Products, Minsk City.

The Belorussian branch of the USSR State Committee for Public Education All-Union Vocational and Technical Education Research Institute.

The Mikashevichi Special Ferroconcrete Plant under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials.

The "Krichevtsementnoshifer" Production Association under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials.

The Belorussian Cement Plant under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials, now under construction.

The Minsk branch of the All-Union Construction Material Research Institute under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials.

The All-Union Wall and Binding Materials Installation and Adjustment Association's Minsk Specialized Installation and Adjustment Administration under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials.

The Minsk Construction Materials Industrial Technical College under the former USSR Ministry of Construction Materials.

The Liquid Fertilizer Design and Technology Research Institute's Belorussian Specialized Design and Technology Bureau and experimental production unit under the former USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee [Gosagroprom].

The Belorussian Republic Pest and Agricultural Crop Disease Forecasting and Diagnosis Laboratory under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Lepel Canned Milk Combine under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Lida Canned Milk Combine under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Minsk Margarine Plant under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Gomel Fats Combine under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Bigosovskiy "Zoovetinstrument" Plant under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Minsk Specialized Installation and Adjustment Administration under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The North-West Specialized Commissioning and Adjustment Administration under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Smolevichi Experimental Plant under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The "Sevzapgipropishcheprom" Institute under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The "Sevzapgipromyasomolprom" Institute under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The "Upakovka" Science and Production Association under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The Belorussian "Agropromsvyazsistema" special enterprise under the former USSR Gosagroprom.

The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry "Soyuzlesmontazh" All-Union Association's Installation and Adjustment Administration, Baranovichi City.

The Borisov economically accountable thermal power section of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry "Soyuzlesmontazh" All-Union Association "Lesenergo" Production Association.

The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry Gomel Polytechnical Technical College.

The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry Bobruysk Timber Technology Technical School.

The All-Union Knitwear Industry Research Institute Minsk experimental raw material department under the former USSR Ministry of Light Industry.

The Minsk Leather Goods and Supplies Industry Experimental Design and Technology Bureau under the former USSR Ministry of Light Industry.

The USSR State Committee for Public Education Mogilev Wood Processing Plant.

The USSR State Committee for Public Education "Spetsvuzavtomatika" Minsk economically accountable regional specialized section.

The USSR Ministry of Trade "Soyuzreklama" All-Union Production Association Belorussian advertising and production enterprise.

The USSR Ministry of Trade "Belgiprotorg" Belorussian State Institute for the Design of Trade and Public Catering Enterprises.

The USSR Ministry of Culture Minsk and Gomel State Circuses.

The USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment Berezinskiy State Reserve.

Question of Lithuanian 'State Secrets' Aired

PM1909151189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Aug 89 p 3

[LITHUANIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY (ELTA) interview with Algimantas Brazaytis, chief of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press: "Is Lithuania To Have Secrets?"; date and place unspecified]

[Text] The Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press [Glavlit] has requested the republic's ministries, departments, and social organizations to submit proposals as to what kind of information it is advisable not to publish in the press and the other mass media. The old censorship system is collapsing and it is still not clear what kind of service there is going to be in the future. This is what Algimantas Brazaytis, chief of Glavlit, thinks.

[Brazaytis] I hope that the censorship system geared to the centralized administrative-edict system will soon die. However, this must not happen in an uncontrolled, chaotic fashion but by replacing it with a legal system to regulate relations between the public and the press. Even all-union departments have already discussed the question of how to distinguish between all-union and republic-level information banned from publication in the press. I think that with the transition to economic independence state secrets will appear in the scientific, technical, commercial, law-enforcement, and other spheres, publication of which could be damaging to the republic's interests. If a list of "our own" secrets is compiled, we hope that we will be able to help members of the press avoid making mistakes and acting in breach of the law.

[ELTA] But could all this not work against glasnost?

[Brazaytis] The time has come to take a closer look at the processes taking place in the policy of glasnost. For example, even in DIRVA, the newspaper of American Lithuanians, our glasnost is called "ridiculous frankness" and, in the resolution adopted at a "Yedinstvo" rally, it is described as "stinking slime." Extreme polarization has developed between the different political forces in the republic—from the tautininki [Lithuanian nationalists], who are determined to rehabilitate themselves as the prewar "democracy," to naive people who claim that Lithuanians are democrats from birth and can manage without any authorities.

I do not think that in this kind of situation, where newspapers and newsheets of different leanings offer different versions, we should take anyone's side. But if we manage to keep this kind of competition "in glasnost" at least within the bounds of decency, we can consider this an achievement of the democratic policy of a rule-of-law state.

It is part of my job to read virtually everything written in the newspapers, large and small. Whereas discussions with the reader in the big press are still being conducted in an educated way, the authors of publications which cost anything up to R1 and fit onto a page from a school exercise book do not always adhere to the elementary norms of decency.

Attempts are being made to exploit tragic events in history in order to set people against one another. Is it really possible to use the policy of glasnost to condemn Stalinism and at the same time conduct the kind of tendentious propaganda which is reminiscent of the recent past? It is strange, but even in the democrats' press it is hard to find ideas defending the principles of true democracy and the right of the individual to his own opinion without any encroachment on his honor and dignity.

[ELTA] A law on the press is currently being drafted. How much does your initiative have to do with this?

[Brazaytis] Clarifying positions and views and the questions of limiting or increasing the responsibility of publishers and authors makes it possible to better understand what kind of press law society needs and how it should protect the interests and rights of those who do the writing and those who are written about. I believe that this will make it possible to draft a law on the press which will prevent the appearance of publications encroaching on elementary morality and the ethics of mutual relations and stimulating a rise in crime and other negative social phenomena, the number of which has risen incredibly recently.

We are hoping that opinions and proposals on these questions will be forthcoming from state institutions, social organizations, and the population of the republic.

Lithuanian Women's Club Appeals to CPSU

LD2109132089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 31 Aug 89 pp 1,3

[Open Letter by the Lithuanian Women's Association addressed to the CPSU Central Committee entitled: "Warning"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Women's Association has sent an open letter to the CPSU Central Committee.

In the declaration that has been read by many millions of Soviet readers, the Lithuanian Women's Association, first of all, failed to find an explanation of what events in the Baltics during the past few days have caused such concern at the CPSU Central Committee.

Apparently the concern was triggered by this year's anniversary on 23 August of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact when people of the three Baltic republics joined hands to establish a living chain across the three republics. This link signifies, however, a protest and mournful commemoration of those hundreds of thousands of innocent people who, without benefit of a trial or any exception for the sick, the aged, women, and infants, have been deported to the Soviet Union's uninhabited regions and sentenced to frightful suffering and death from starvation. After all, the current Communist Party and government policy has nothing in common with this Stalinist brutality. How, then, is one to interpret the entire tone of this declaration?

The Lithuanian Women's Organization holds the opinion that restructuring is opening opportunities in Lithuania to democratize all areas of life. Since it is evidently impossible to begin an honorable period of history without adequate reappraisal of the frightful past based on force and fear, this process of reappraisal awaits every nation in the USSR and is currently taking place thoroughly and naturally. Since the bloodiest crimes against the Soviet people and individual nations were perpetrated in the name of the Communist Party, the majority of party members are also evaluating and reflecting on their own mission during this period in history. In order to evaluate the consequences of Stalinism in Lithuania, a second Nuremberg trial would be necessary. However, the Lithuanian nation, like other Baltic nations, does not follow a path of revenge and incitement of national hatred. In the noble joining of hands, the three nations are only expressing their view of juridically illegal repressions. This is a far cry from the "extremist attack," "nationalist hysteria," or "nationalistic outbursts," as stated in the declaration. This could be an example to the world of a most beautiful expression of friendship among nations.

Because of this, the Lithuanian Women's Association is deeply disillusioned by the content and tone of this declaration. From where do such tendentiousness and lies stem in this type of party organ declaration? The declaration is reminiscent of the attachment of anonymous labels over a period of many years to one phenomenon or another without any indication why this was being done. It is difficult to believe that the following words could be used, in light of restructuring ideas: "people must know toward what precipice nationalist leaders are impelling them. If they succeed in achieving their goals, the consequences for nations could be catastrophic. Their very existence could be questioned." What is that? A genocide threat? A new three-republic deportation to Siberia? To what acts of vandalism and what defilation of a civil war memorial is the declaration referring? Who are these nationalist leaders? Are they the millions of Lithuania's residents who hastened to hold hands on the Baltic road, those who expressed their opinion of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, or the hundreds of thousands of women who put their signatures on a demand for radical changes in the USSR Armed Forces to provide at least minimal conditions for preventing individuals from being injured?

The Union press, through its tendentious depiction of restructuring events in the Baltics, has caused youths in the country's military service to be subjected to unbelievable cruelties: more and more of them are returned in coffins or become physically and morally broken.

The declaration states: "... do not believe those who attempt to convince you that it is sufficient to expell the migrants and to create an unequal situation for Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Jews and ... life will, at once, become prosperous."

Although the principle of "divide and conquer" is as old as the world, we still strongly believe that all members of other nationalities residing in Lithuania will not fall prey to this time-tested method of incitement. On the 23 August anniversary of the signing of the shameful agreements, Poles, Jews, Karaims, Tatars, Belorussians, Russians, and members of other nationalities stood side by side and held hands with Lithuanians, as the idea of "national amalgamation"—handed down still from the tsarist oppression policy—proves destructive to every nation, even the Russian one.

We think this CPSU Central Committee declaration is harmful since it misleads the millions of multi-national Soviet people and is the reactionary forces' active expression against restructuring, or, at best, is based upon intentionally misleading information.

We honor and take pride in our republic's government, its wisdom and tolerance toward all strata of Lithuania's population and nationality opinions, and its quest for harmony. We honor and are proud of Sajudis which is actively seeking a way out of the economic and spiritual crisis and is leading us further away from newspaper euphoria toward the actual opportunity to experience human joy and give meaning to life. We are rejoicing at the fact that the party and Sajudis have discovered many contact points in their action since eternal and humanist affairs are always above the interests of one group or one party. Moreover, the restructuring process is taking place to benefit these eternal affairs, alongside which policies start and perish without measuring how much they serve or injure these affairs. It behooves us to recall V. Lenin's idea that the chauvinism of large nations begets the nationalism of small ones. The existence of a small nation should not depend on the interests of its larger neighbor. The world has not yet begun to speak the same language, after all. In other words, all nations and all languages are necessary for its diversity and evolution.

The hour is at hand when we all must turn to the principles of truth, love, well-being, beauty, and hope, which support the world. We also must re-evaluate our lives, even if that should prove to be painful. Not only the Communist Party, but every decent individual, especially women and mothers since it is their task to preserve and hand down human experience for future generations, can exhort the people to one goal or another. The Lithuanian Women's Association invites every CPSU Central Committee member to turn toward these principles. Let the seeds of deception and evil never sprout, no matter whose hand plants them. Moreover, do not let truth and love be weeded out from the heart of every individual and every nation.

Riga Mayor on Opposition to Citizens' Committees

PM2509105389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 3 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Riga Mayor A. Rubiks by I. Geyman: "'You Will Not Deflect Us From Our Course'"—date and place unspecified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Geyman] A most sensitive subject for our republic at present is the formation of citizens' committees. They must essentially be intended as an alternative to organs of Soviet power. In other words, at some stage there will be the Riga City Soviet of People's Deputies and the Riga City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom], and, parallel to them, the Riga city citizens' committee. It is still unclear whose decisions will have the greater force. And whose decisions will be carried out—those of the city soviet or the committee? Because only one decision can be implemented.

[Rubiks] Now, when we in the USSR Supreme Soviet are working on the draft law on local self-management and the local economy, many interpretations are arising over what should be understood by the term "self-management." If we say that democracy must develop in the conditions of the state, that the state cannot be an instrument of coercion, and that boundless democracy and the boundless will of self-management, which comes from below, will sooner or later come into conflict with the power which oppresses from above, being state power... [sentence as published] The art is to ensure that that power, which comes from above, understands and supports the wave of democratization coming from below—within the bounds of reason.

In principle, the most democratic power of government and self-management under a renewed socialist system must be power in the form of the soviets, which originally came into being at the will of the people. This means that at republic, rayon, or city level there is no need for any parallel organ to rival the soviets. But below rayon or city level there is apparently no power structure. This is where our citizens live, organized by no one. The draft law currently being drawn up envisions the formation of self-management committees on the basis of electoral okrugs. These committees will have their own budget, their own finances, and definite rights, and their activity will be subordinate to the rayon or city soviet.

But as far as our citizens' committees are concerned, they were not created from below. They arose at the prompting of the Latvian National Independence Movement and with the support of the People's Front Duma: Form committees, they say, and draw up a census of the population—reading between the lines, that means create an alternative to soviet power and prepare for elections. That is why the gorispolkom saw a conflict here with the existing constitution and a threat to the present state structure. We discussed this question at our sitting and made our attitude clear. This matter has also been discussed by the city party committee bureau and the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

Unfortunately, the situation remained unchanged, because those to whom these decisions and appraisals were addressed ignored them. We then called an extraordinary sitting of the gorispolkom, heard a report on this question by the city prosecutor, and adopted a more categorical decision: to consider the further establishment of such committees impossible and ask the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium to deem them to be unconstitutional in order to stop this activity. The Supreme Soviet Presidium indeed has deemed these committees unconstitutional.

[Geyman] But the registration of citizens is still continuing anyway...

[Rubiks] Well, now this activity can be termed illegal.

[Geyman] People of our generation have become so used to decisions! It has always seemed that all we need is another good decision to be taken for us to be protected against all evils... Are the miraculous powers of prohibitions not being exaggerated in this case?

[Rubiks] I personally think that if the resolution adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has no effect, this is an open challenge to Soviet power—with all the attendant consequences. Power must protect its own interests—that is accepted throughout the world. [Passage omitted]

Latvian Deputy on Popular Front Policy

AU2009130289 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Latvian theater director Gytis Padegimas, a representative of the Green wing within the "Sajudis" Popular Front and a people's deputy, by Gerold Lehner in Salzburg: "We Must Wait for the Right Moment for Our Secession From Moscow"; date not given]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Does the Latvian Popular Front also include chauvinists who preach hatred against the Russian ethnic group?

Padegimas: These people do not stand a chance within Sajudis. We are not advocating nationalism but the right to our ethnic, national, and cultural identity. As far as hatred is concerned, it has become stronger, as a matter of fact. The hotheads, however, are fortunately a minority. The situation has never been calmer than it is now. We must only wait for the right moment—for the secession from Moscow.

DER STANDARD: The situation is calm? You certainly do not expect anybody to believe that!

Padegimas: The flow of information has been facilitated by Gorbachev's policy. For years, there were no reports in the West about our conflicts. For a long time we have been fighting with peaceful means against real colonialism which has claimed numerous lives since the Stalin era. Every family in Latvia has lost relatives who died in Siberia. However, our resistance is also based on ecological reasons. The central authorities in Moscow have destroyed wonderful nature reserves in implementing their industrialization program. The Red Army has ruthlessly deforested entire regions. The Moscow government behaved as the large Western concerns are behaving in the Third World.

DER STANDARD: What is the Popular Front's attitude toward the United States?

Padegimas: The [U.S.] Congress has for many years supported our calls for free Baltic states. Now that independence might be imminent, the United States is silent. This does not exactly promote confidence.

DER STANDARD: The conflicts between the ethnic groups in Latvia remind one a little of conflicts in South Tirol.

Padegimas: I personally have many Russian friends. Some of them are members of the Popular Front. They speak Latvian with us. We want the Russians to speak Latvian in our country.

DER STANDARD: One cannot tell an ethnic group what language it has to speak.

Padegimas: This is something you should tell the Stalinists. The Latvians have an excellent command of the Russian language, and they also speak the language. Many Russians, however, refuse to learn Latvian. They come from distant regions, introduce their customs, and want us to speak Russian. What would the Austrians say if they were suddenly forced to speak Turkish, if millions of guest workers would come to your country, would immediately be allowed to vote, and if a Turkish government would assume power?

DER STANDARD: Austria is discussing voting rights for foreigners.

Padegimas: The guest workers in Austria do not have any privileges—on the contrary. This is bad enough. In our country, Russians who have settled here have for years enjoyed privileges, are given better apartments and better jobs.

DER STANDARD: There have been reports that Russians are being ignored in Latvian supermarkets.

Padegimas: Such things depend on the behavior of individual persons. There is no collective hatred. On the other hand, there are also ordinary human conflicts, which, however, are currently being played up as political conflicts.

Estonian Ethnic Groups Open Meeting

LD2209221289 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Tallinn September 23 TASS—Representatives of 14 ethnic and cultural societies of the republic gathered for the forum of Estonian peoples on Friday. It is the third in number but the first congress of ethnic amalgamations, representing the association of ethnic and cultural societies of Estonia, which is registered with the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet (parliament).

The association's charter reads that the main aim of the association is to protect social, economic, political and cultural interests and rights of ethnic minorities living in Estonia.

"I believe it very important that you have gathered after the plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee took decisions which laid down foundations for the equal development of all peoples. You are the force which can help in achieving mutual understanding between all ethnic groups in Estonia," said Arnold Ryuytel, president of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. He greeted the forum on behalf of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet and the government.

The forum's first day was devoted to problems of the Russian community in Estonia. These issues were debated by representatives of the Russian culture society and the Tartu Russian society, which are members of the association, as well as by members of several informal amalgamations of Russian population in the republic.

It will continue its deliberations on September 23.

Estonian Peoples' Forum Concludes

LD2309194889 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Tallinn September 23 ETA-TASS—The second day of the forum of Estonia's peoples, which ended in Tallinn today, was devoted to questions of autonomous culture interests and nationality policy. It was attended by delegates from 14 national societies of the republic affiliated with the Association of National-Cultural Societies of Estonia.

The delegates of the forum passed "the statement of the forum of Estonia's peoples" which runs: "We, representing the people of many nationalities, who reside in Estonia and who cast their lot with Estonia, are united by the striving to promote democratic transformations in the republic, brought to life by the renewal of society".

The forum also passed "the statement of the forum of Estonia's peoples on the development of Russian culture in Estonia" which stresses the need to promote in every way the restoration, preservation and development of the values of Russian culture in Estonia, unity of the people of Russian culture and their full-fledged participation in social life of the republic.

Signs of Easing Tensions in Estonia Seen

18001630 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by SELSKAYA ZHIZN special correspondent A. Morgun: "Meeting Halfway"]

[Text] First, here is a picture from nature. The City Hall Square in Tallinn, and in the middle of it there is a group of people with the poster: "Democratic Movement-88 is collecting funds for holding a referendum on the independence of Estonia."

Next to the poster, there is a small table which was brought here for the convenience of those willing to make a feasible contribution for carrying out the action. Behind the table, there is a woman assiduously signing her name on a sheet which resembles a register. The group is definitely bored, and eagerly strikes up a conversation with passers-by. I notice in passing that in the

City Hall Square, which is densely flanked by shops, this is, perhaps, the only place without even the semblance of a line.

I am describing this not just because it is a funny episode; this is also a reflection on the issue of whether the inhabitants of Estonia have taken their leave of common sense. I am profoundly convinced that a realistic appraisal of the situation which has emerged is characteristic of the majority of both the indigenous and Russian-speaking population. I may say one more thing with certainty, despite the entire discordance of opinion and judgment regarding the Declaration of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the republics in the Soviet Baltic Area which have poured out into the pages of the local and central press: The statement has caused both the local radicals and conservatives to look at the emergent situation in a more sober manner, and, having assessed it, to come to the conclusion that further aggravation of the confrontation, inability to make mutual concessions and reach a reasonable compromise, could bring the republic to the edge of an abyss. No matter what they say now, it was exactly the declaration that facilitated the currently much more vigorous and constructive dialogue between various social movements mediated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic.

However, we should not resort to simplification either. The answer to the question: Are there forces in contemporary Estonia which are betting on splitting the Soviet Union—is affirmative. How influential these forces are is another matter.

Through the efforts of journalists (including, it must be acknowledged, those in the central press), the slogans of small extremist groups and movements were frequently passed for almost the views of most of the indigenous population. This is how a distorted generalized image develops in the mass consciousness of, say, a resident of Russia: These Estonians are, supposedly, nationalists to a man... For example, the Party of National Independence of Estonia (PNNE), which is so frequently mentioned as an example of extremism, and whose flashy slogans are recorded every now and then by the photo correspondents of the republic and central publications with hard-to-understand relish, numbers slightly over 200 persons. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Landmarks, which stands together with the PNNE on issues of principle, is also small. Viewing only these extremes as expressing the thoughts and desires of the entire Estonian people means displaying an entirely unwarranted myopia and bias.

It is another matter that from time to time the ice of interethnic mistrust sort of binds both language communities of the republic. Certainly, this is not happening by itself but as a result of destructive, irresponsible declarations on the part of some leaders of the main social movements.

The reading public throughout the union is commonly familiar with the anti-Russian revelations of the notorious USSR People's Deputy T. Made due to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reprinting them. Is this pathological? To my mind, definitely. However, the eloquence of this quite experienced politician is not the only factor which is to blame for the views of T. Made gaining the support of a certain segment of Estonians. I am now going to quote an excerpt from a different speech by an entirely different speaker, and everything will become more understandable: "...Never in our life have we tried to appeal to the ethnic feelings of the Russian people, but beware if this happens. The Russian people are slow starters, but when they get going they move fast... Proceeding from the 40 to 60 (the percentage ratio of the indigenous and Russian-speaking population in the republic is meant—note by A. Morgun) proves itself only here, but some forget that there are still people on the other bank of the river Narva..."

Such is the tone of speeches by another USSR People's Deputy, one of the leaders of the Interfront Ye. Kogan. Many Estonians interpreted this interview as a non-veiled threat with sufficient justification. Judging by the context of the speech by Ye. Kogan, at issue is nothing else but the possibility of hand-to-hand combat... The extremism of one side is capable of producing nothing but the same extreme on the other side. Chauvinism and nationalism have gone hand in hand for ages. It cannot be otherwise, because they are based on setting one language community against the other and proceed from the position of ethnic superiority. Since we are on the topic of extremes, we should note that they have one more thing in common. Both sides blame the Communist Party and the government of the republic for the political situation in Estonia being unstable. The only difference is that one side reproaches the Communist Party for almost betraying the interests of its people, and the other for abandoning the ideals and gains of socialism.

Of course, we may reflect at this point on what the true and the imaginary interests of the people are about, or on another topic: Which "gains" of socialism (are they indeed of socialism?) we should have abandoned long ago. However, this is material for another review. In this case, I find much more alarming the fact that the dissatisfaction with the position of the Estonian Communist Party is voiced also by many rank-and-file Communists whom you cannot classify as either zealous radicals or hard-boiled conservatives.

The facts are stubborn. Alas, they show that in the 5th year of perestroyka the Estonian Communist Party essentially turned out to be the only mass organization in the republic which has not been able to set forth its ultimate strategic goals with sufficient clarity, and has not determined the tactics for achieving them.

The absence of a clear-cut program, of a clear understanding where the line runs for a Communist between the plurality of views and actions and an abrupt turning away from the requirements of the CPSU Statute and Program—all of this brings about many Communists departing for the colors of the movements whose main positions are expressed more precisely and definitively. Therefore, we should not delude ourselves by the fact that Communists account for a majority in some movements which are currently popular. They have come to the movements because some of them could not wait for a clear and unambiguous political evaluation of the position of the Communist T. Made, others—of the position of the Communist Ye. Kogan (individual statements by speakers at the plenum of the Central Committee do not count in this instance).

The thesis on "the priority of the indigenous nation," extremely unfortunately formulated by Secretary of the CPE Central Committee M. Titma in one of the interviews, caused much disarray and witdrawal to "nationality quarters" among Communists. Its excessively arbitrary interpretations have subsequently caused a wave of further aggravation in interethnic relations. It came to M. Titma having to explain himself at the last plenum of the CPE Central Committee. It turned out he meant just the following: "Estonia is the native home of the Estonians, and they must be masters in their home."

It is hard to argue against this; perhaps, we should not argue. The issue is different: Could not this thought be expressed right away in an equally easy-to-understand manner and in a form not offensive to the Russian-speaking populace? Horns need not have been locked in the polemical zeal, and much feeling and energy could have been devoted to pursuits more useful for perestroyka!

A statement based on the data of a sociological survey was made at the last plenum of the CPE: In conjunction with the latest events, the authority of the Communist Party of Estonia among the populace has increased perceptibly. I could not help thinking: May we avoid deluding ourselves while analyzing these data! After all, this is most likely merely the credit of trust extended by the majority which is tired of living in the environment of continuous interethnic squabbling, which has lost faith in the constructive potential of other movements, and which sees no real solution to the problems in organizing the strike movement that brings chaos to the economy and strikes telling blows at the IME, the idea of republic economic accountability to which many people here attach hopes for a better and more dignified life. Also, this is credit given to the only organization which thus far still has effective means and a real opportunity to bring about rallying and consolidating the society.

The above supposition is not the fruit of idle speculation by a visiting journalist. During my travel through the republic, I met with member of the board of the Kharyuskiy Rayon People's Front, member of the republic Council of Commissioners of the People's Front of Estonia A. Sirel. My interest in my interlocutor was due to two factors. First, it has become customary to pass judgment on the sociopolitical situation in the republic in a quite lopsided manner, based on the views and pronouncements of leaders of social movements from the capital city. Provincial and rural areas for some reason are not taken into account. Meanwhile, Aare Sirel works for an inter-kolkhoz [collective farm] construction organization, and is a leader on a different, so to say, provincial scale.

The other reason due to which I sought a meeting with Sirel is also remarkable in its own right: Recently, he was accepted as a candidate member to the Communist Party of Estonia. In a word, a small express-interview provided food for thought:

"I will say it right away: In rural areas, you will not find even a semblance of the political storms which rage in the cities, though we have Russian-speaking population, too. We have managed to avoid open confrontation from the very beginning by setting up in the rayon a special consultative council at the meetings of which members of different social movements, as a rule, reach compromises which are acceptable for all. One more aspect: Among others, six support groups which are entirely Russian-speaking vigorously participate in the activities of the Kharyu People's Front.

"Now about my reasons for deciding to join the party. It is obvious for me: The social movements which advocate immediate secession from the USSR do not take into account, or do not want to, either the reality of the situation or the consequences which await the people on this dangerous path. How can we fail to take into account the fact that at present not only Estonians, but also people of other nationalities live in Estonia? Is it dignified to hope that your problems will be solved at the expense of people who also have their right to look to the future without worry? I am aware that in the foreseeable immediate future the People's Front of Estonia and the Interfront will hardly be able to find common ground on their own. In this instance, only the Communist Party may be the coordinator capable of reaching and working out a compromise. Only through the communist party is a constructive dialogue possible with the 'center' on the issues of creating a new model of federation in our union. Thus, the activities of the party become vital to the future of Estonia. I do not want to be left out in the course of this..."

Those who believe that people thinking as A. Sirel does are few and far between in Estonia are mistaken. Here are just some of my recent observations.

Positions of the Communist Party of Estonia and the United Council of Labor Collectives (OSTK), which unites a considerable segment of the Russian-speaking population, on a number of issues of principle are beginning to draw closer together. A dialogue with representatives of the strike committee is in full swing: At a meeting of the working group, both sides have acknowledged the unacceptability of the thesis on "the priority of the indigenous nation" and stressed the right of all peoples of Estonia to develop freely and equally. Finally, the board of the National Front of the republic has shown proper understanding of the situation by canceling a mass meeting planned ahead of time in favor of another event, a 2-day "Political Stroll of the People's Front" through the fields of Estonia.

Thus, almost all sociopolitical movements of the republic have taken reasonable steps toward easing the confrontation and interethnic tensions during these days. Let us definitely note this: An important step has been taken in order to meet halfway. As they say, may it not be the last.

Further Reportage on Estonian Party Plenum

PM2509095589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 2 Sep 89 p 1

[ETA-attributed "Information Report on 15th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 15th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held in Tallinn 1 September.

The plenum was opened by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who conveyed cordial greetings to our young people and their teachers on Knowledge Day.

The plenum participants approved the following agenda:

1. The tasks of the Estonian Communist Party to stabilize the political situation in the republic.

2. Organizational questions.

V. Vyalyas delivered a report on the first item on the agenda.

Then the discussion began. The following took part: E.A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn party city committee [gorkom]; G. Rastegayev, chief of the cadre department of the Sillamyae Chemical and Metallurgical Production Association Construction and Installation Administration; Ya. Allik, first secretary of the Vilyandiskiy party rayon committee [raykom]; A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; B. Yulegin, first secretary of the Kalininskiy party raykom; E. Pyldroos, chairman of the board of the Estonian Artists Union; K. Rebane, president of the Estonian Academy of Sciences; Yu. Raydla, first secretary of the Pyarnuskiy party raykom; V. Boytsova, team leader at the "Kokhtla-Yarve" State Farm; V. Beekman, chairman of the board of the Estonian Writers Union; A. Gusev, first secretary of the Morskiy party raykom; Kh.M. Ulvik, secretary of the "Norma" Production Association party committee; M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; N. Ivanov, deputy chief of the Estonian Shipping Company; T. Leyto, editor of the newspaper RAHVA HAAL; N. Zakharov, first secretary of the Kokhtla-Yarve party gorkom; I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; A. Ingerman, head of a sector in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; T. Laak, first secretary of the Tartu party gorkom; P. Panfilov, second secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom; and A. Vellamaa, deputy president of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

The closing speech was given by V. Vyalyas.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum adopted a resolution "On the Tasks of the Estonian Communist Party To Stabilize the Political Situation in the Republic."

The resolution approves the basic principles of the report by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau Address in connection with the CPSU Central Committee statement "On the Situation in the Soviet Baltic Republics." It stresses that the course formulated by the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and subsequent plenums will remain unchanged. At the same time, party organizations are set specific tasks to implement Estonian Communist Party policy in the immediate future.

The plenum then moved onto the discussion of organizational questions. In connection with his retirement and at his own personal request, A.B. Upsi was released from his duties as secretary and member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission. At his own personal request, M. Pedak was released from his duties as member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. At his own personal request, A. Soydla was released from his duties as candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. At his own personal request, Yu. Barsukov was released from his duties as member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

A. Vyali was coopted onto the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and elected secretary and member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. He was confirmed chairman of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Policy Commission. Ya. Allik was coopted onto the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and elected member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. E. Cherevashko was elected candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. G. Smirnov was made a full member of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. B. Yulegin, T. Laak, V. Malkovskiy, Yu. Raydla, and O. Saveli were all coopted onto the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Kh. Eller was confirmed as head of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee State and Legal Department.

This completed the agenda of the 15th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and the plenum was declared closed.

The discussion of V. Vyalyas' report will be published in the press.

Need for New Union Treaty Viewed

PM1809122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by I. Muksinov, leader of the national-state relations problem-solving group at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, and N. Vorobyev, M. Puchkova, and A. Maslov, scientific staffers at the institute: "Is a Union Treaty Necessary?"]

[Text] Moscow—In associating ourselves to the proposals voiced by deputies at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies on updating the declaration and the union treaty, we should like to argue our position.

First of all about the declaration. Even a cursory acquaintance with the 1922 declaration shows that its updating is simply essential. Written by Stalin, it emphasized the split of the world's states into two camps and stressed their antagonism. The inevitability of creating "a unified front of Soviet republics in the face of capitalist encirclement" was justified by "the instability of the international situation and the danger of new attacks." It went on to point out that the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the civil war was impossible "with the republics' separate existence." All these circumstances, according to the declaration, require the unification of the Soviet republics into a single union state. In conclusion it proclaimed: The new union state "will serve as a loyal bulwark against world capitalism and a decisive new step on the path of the unification of the working people of all countries into the World Socialist Soviet Republic."

It is obvious that today it is primarily the content of this document which should be updated. The authors of the draft platform realize that this new declaration, in their opinion, would make it possible to enshrine measures for updating Soviet federalism and would play the role of a fundamental political document in resolving questions which could arise in the future. Let us add that the new declaration, in turn, must substantiate the basic and specific aims of the existence of the USSR under present conditions and the expediency of pooling the republics' efforts for further socialist building and for the country's defense.

About the union treaty. Let us note first of all that the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet suggested back in November 1988 to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that a new union treaty be elaborated and the central committees of the communist parties of the three Baltic republics submitted their proposals for a union Treaty for examination by the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question. Essentially the updating of the treaty on the USSR is essential for the following reasons.

First, the signing of a new treaty will be an open and serious recognition of the treaty-based nature of the USSR and confirmation of the voluntary nature of the republics' union in the USSR. That is a matter of principle. Our federation can be effective and firm only if it is based on the mutual trust and voluntary consent of the republics belonging to it. "A guarantee of the firmness of our federation," the draft platform states, "is the entirely voluntary nature of the unification of the Soviet republics into a single union state."

Second, the process of democratization which is expanding in our federation requires the creation of special mechanisms for the union republics' participation in the elaboration of their legal status. In that respect the form of the union treaty is the most convenient possible. After all the dispute is by no means about the name of the legal act. It is primarily about the procedure for preparing and adopting it. Work to change the USSR Constitution is taking place within the framework of the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies—that is, in any event the decision will be made by majority vote, with the absence of real guarantees for the rights of the minorities. As for the treaty, it must be elaborated by fully empowered representatives of the union republics and adopted on the basis of the general consensus of the federation members. That is why, incidentally, we cannot support the proposal to adopt a USSR law on the federation.

Third, the signing of a treaty will make it possible to resolve normally the entire problem of dividing responsibility between the USSR and the republics. It is the treaty on the USSR concluded by the republics themselves which will define the powers of the USSR which, the draft says, "they voluntarily transfer to the authority of the Union." It becomes clear whose authority is primary and whose secondary. We can see no more radical means of ensuring the maximum participation of the republics themselves in determining the competence of the federation.

Fourth, the new treaty will make it possible resolutely to undermine the existing administrative-edict system of management in our federation. Until recently relations between the USSR and the republics came down mainly to relations of power and subordination. The point of the reform of the Soviet federation is the democratization of relations between the USSR and the republics and their transfer to a strictly legal basis. We can see no more realistic means of ensuring these relations' democratization than a treaty.

Fifth, the new treaty will make it possible to define clearly the limits of the USSR's legislative competence (as is well known, the first treaty contained a list of the foundations and basic principles of legislation accepted at the level of the USSR but the 1977 USSR Constitution no longer contained this) and thereby define the spheres of our social life which are independently regulated by the republics. It is the treaty which will help finally to halt the unrestrained norm-creating activity of the USSR organs which goes beyond the limits of their competence.

Sixth, the merit of the idea of concluding a new treaty on the USSR is that this idea does not put its trust in the center. Unfortunately, experience shows that hope pinned on a center which will resolve all the problems of our federation and resolve them correctly is not always justified. The involvement of all republics in this would be a major step in the process of democratizing the solution of all federal problems.

Nor should it be forgotten that the constitutional changes taking place in the Baltic republics and their latest current laws, whatever our attitude toward them, already create a new model for a Soviet federation. Incidentally, the Baltic republics are not hiding the fact. Thus real transformations to our federation are already beginning to be introduced from below.

That is why the idea of the treaty can be viewed as one of the mechanisms for resolving the aggravated problems of the federation, as a means of strengthening the republics' mutual interest in preserving and developing the USSR on a new basis.

Of course, the reason we give preference to the conclusion of a treaty is by no means because this path is easier. Under present conditions this path is far harder. But we are convinced that the reward for the labor in preparing the treaty will be the creation of conditions for the USSR peoples' joint existence which do not cause anyone a sense of dissatisfaction and annoyance or make anyone want to review the decisions which have been taken.

Leningrad Party Committee Plenum Held 7 Sep

PM2009162189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Leningrad CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] A Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee [Obkom] Plenum was held yesterday to examine organizational questions.

N.I. Popov was relieved of his duties as member of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Bureau in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Control Committee.

V.M. Prilukov was relieved of his duties as member of the Leningrad Party Obkom in connection with his appointment as chief of the USSR KGB administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast.

Yu.A. Pompeyev, head of the editorial board of the Leningrad branch of the "Soviet Writer" Publishing House, and Yu.K. Sevenard, chief of the "Lengidroenergospetsstroy" Administration, were transferred from the posts of candidate members to full members of the CPSU obkom.

G.I. Barinova was relieved of her duties as head of the CPSU Obkom Ideological Department in connection with her appointment as director of the Leningrad branch of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum.

A.V. Vorontsov, who worked previously as head of the Department of Scientific Communism at the A.I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute, has been appointed head of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Ideological Department.

Yu.F. Solovyev was relieved of his duties as chairman of the CPSU Obkom Commission on Questions of Organizational Party and Cadre Work.

B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, was elected chairman of this commission.

Leningrad Gorkom Head Addresses Aktiv 19 Aug

PM1909104189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 p 2

[Speech by A.N. Gerasimov, first secretary of Leningrad Party City Committee, at Leningrad party organization aktiv meeting which began 19 August, under the general heading: "Perestroyka: Leningrad Communists' Action Program"]

[Text] Comrades! In this historic hall 72 years ago Lenin's well-known April theses, which defined the Bolshevik party's strategy and tactics in that complex and transitional revolutionary period, were heard. Essentially we are now facing a no less significant political task: To analyze the many complex problems and questions of the party's and the country's life in the difficult conditions of perestroyka.

We tried to do that at a joint plenum of the party oblast committee [obkom] and party city committee [gorkom]. There was a keen and principled discussion on this theme during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to our city. Nevertheless, a considerable section of Leningraders still feel a sense of dissatisfaction, disagreement, and uncertainty (and this is shown by the course of today's meeting, too), which is hampering vigorous actions and the transition from general discussions to the solution of practical tasks. It has been said perfectly correctly here today that the Leningrad party organization has not yet managed to form a specific platform of its own.

Examining from this standpoint the draft proposals that have been issued to you, it must be said that in its original version this document is incapable of accelerating the discussion of all the problems in our primary party organizations. I think that the political theses and proposals prepared by the party gorkom and its commissions, which were subsequently approved at an enlarged session of the gorkom bureau and sent to the party obkom, were considerably watered down. Either they were too radical for some people or there was some other reason, but, one way or another, they lost their characteristic edge, and when today's final document is taking its definitive shape I would like the provisions of the gorkom theses to be considered because they contain much that is sensible.

The times and the very course of perestroyka clearly show that, if we are to stop the decline in the party's prestige, we cannot make do with half-measures or cosmetic repairs, we need a fundamental perestroyka of all the CPSU's activity. That is, in the short period remaining before the 28th party congress we must now embark on resolute measures to elaborate a new model of the CPSU, its strategy, and tactics, and its new program and statutes. To ensure successful, uninterrupted progress and to avoid a repetition of past mistakes there must be clear ideological and political guidelines for that movement and the ability to see at least the shape of perestroyka. Otherwise we will surely find that many of the problems are insoluble.

Can we expect theoretical thinking to immediately provide us with readymade outlines of the party's perestroyka? I think not. Unless it is based on a vivifying and constantly self-renewing foundation of practical ideological and organizational party activity there will be no result. In my view, the most important condition of the success of theoretical work must be that the whole party participate in it. Its ideology cannot just be the monopoly of the center or social sciences alone. We all know that in the years after the revolution, hundreds of talented party figures worked far from Moscow, and their experience and knowledge constantly replenished the party's theoretical arsenal. True, much has changed since then and it is hard to disagree that for certain reasons (repressions and wars) the party has suffered an intellectual impoverishment which has acutely affected its position and prestige.

We have concentrated great intellectual and creative potential here in Leningrad and we must put it to use. This is one of our most important tasks, our paramount duty. We have many social science collectives and each year hundreds of doctoral and candidates' dissertations are defended. But if you look closely, unfortunately, you will see that our academics' creative research is oriented more toward the historical past. Of course, it is easier to work like that, it involves less responsibility. But the current works of our social scientists, political scientists, and sociologists in the main merely state the situation as it taking shape and indicate its condition in response only to the question "what." But we need to know not only "what" to do but also "how" to do it and what positive constructive methods party organizations should use in their work.

Of course, when reproaching scientists one must also look critically at oneself. So far party organizations have not been able to promptly or intelligently state what they want from the study of sociopolitical and theoretical problems, and we need to do this in the very near future.

Now for a few specific proposals of an organizational and structural nature. I believe that life itself today dictates the inexpediency of combining the posts of first secretary and soviet chairman because otherwise the party will not avoid further stratification and the whole range of total responsibility which has oppressed it.

I support the proposal on the formation of a Russian Communist Party—this is now a most important party political question with far-reaching consequences.

Probably I would be wrong to ignore the problem of mutual relations between the CPSU Obkom and Gorkom, although people may think that I am defending my own personal views here. I have already said on numerous occasions that I see two ways to resolve it: Either the party gorkom must be subordinated directly to the Central Committee or, in accordance with the rules, the party gorkom must be given the full range of powers under the general coordinating leadership of the obkom. But the final say in this difficult and complex affair must be left to the 500,000 Leningrad Communists.

It has already been said today that there must be direct contested elections in the party. In supporting this proposal I think that it is necessary to suspend the current statute on elections and devise temporary rules on whose basis both the current report and election campaign and the elections of delegates to the 28th party congress would be held.

What will the party's future be? It is probably hard to answer that question right away, the concept of the new model of the party must be the product of creative work by all Communists. But one thing is clear—the party cannot be above the state, above the law, or above people, as it used to be. The most important thing for it is to express the vital interests of the people and to be a factor for the consolidation of all social forces and organizations. This is the guarantee of its rebirth and success.

Sakharov Doubts Value of Russian Workers' Front

LD2209223589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Two points of view on a single problem. The USSR Supreme Soviet session begins Monday, on its eve the inaugural congress of the Russian United Workers' Front [Obyedinyennyy Front Trudyashchichsya Rossii] has been held in Sverdlovsk. Our correspondents have recorded two interviews with people's deputies reflecting diametrically opposite views on this new public organization:

[Begin recording] [K.V. Fedotov, a longshoreman from Leningrad, identified by captioned] What was discussed at the congress, what were the most important matters discussed at the congress? There was the question of holding the local soviet elections on the production-territorial principle, and during that debate the congress adopted by a majority vote a resolution and an appeal to the workers of Russia on the matter. A great deal of attention was devoted to discussing the economic problems facing Russia.

[Correspondent] At the congress you, naturally, also decided how you are going to function within our system of political organizations in the country?

[V.A. Yarin, USSR people's deputy, identified by caption] I realize that the question will arise about our interaction with public organizations, in the field of activity of the Russian United Workers' Front. First and foremost, we would like to determine the stand of those organizations within Russia's stand. [sentence as heard] We would like to see precisely the kind of stand adopted by the trade union, that is the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] plenum clearly and unequivocally expressed the view that a congress of Russian trade unions should be held, with the object of setting up elementary trade union administratiove bodies for Russia. We would like to hold the same kind of debate regarding the party. But don't get us wrong: We realize that this may have some sort of influence on the growing nationalist feelings today. We very much do not want our endeavors to live the way the other republics do, where administrative bodies are concerned, to be seen as some kind of Russian chauvinism—not by any means. [Video shows interview with Fedorov and Yarin] [end recording]

[Correspondent] Let us break off for a moment. It just happened that at the very same time in that same city of Sverdlovsk a conference of people's deputies from the Greater Urals zone was taking place. They were discussing the extremely tense economic situation in the region, the run-down social sphere, the large number of people leaving, the election preparations, and other problems. Many of the deputies criticized a number of the provisions in the platform of the Russian United Workers' Front. These included Deputy Levashov from Leningrad, Shapovalenko from Orenburg, Volkov from Sverdlovsk, Travkin from Moscow, and others. Here is Academician Sakharov's view:

[Begin Sakharov recording] I think this is an organization which, in fact, is incapable of articulating the genuine interests of the working class. The interests of the working class cannot be set against the other strata of society...an attempt to once again create the illusion of something similar to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It might again turn out to be a means of manipulating the working class in the interests of the apparatus. Therefore, their view on the law on elections, which is contained in this association's program is, I think, absolutely wrong and even very dangerous for perestroyka, for the harmonious development of our country. [video shows clip of the people's deputies conference; interview with Sakharov] [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Yarin, continuing opening interview] The one thing I cannot understand in the stand put forward in the speeches by a number of delegates in Sverdlovsk is that there is no need for such a front. After all, we are not rejecting any of the amateur public associations that have now been set up. We agree with some things and with others...but we do not reject. Today it is impossible to reject diversity in thinking. The thing we have to do today [illegible] to learn from different forms of thinking, to extract the grain of reason, to combine and find ways to solutions and hand them over to people. We shall by no means allow our front to be exploited for a schism. Let us argue, but let us also solve things. The people are tired of talk. Let us get down to business. We shall be fed neither by meeting-place democracy nor by long sessions; we shall be fed by deeds. The people's well-being consists of deeds alone. And this is our main aim. Who today will defend the working man if not the working man himself? So let us allow him to do so; let us bring him closer to political activity. Today, unfortunately, the working man is represented in the Supreme Soviet by a smaller number.

At the basis of my program lies the future of Russia. I would very much like to live to see the day when Russians, Jews, Tatars, Germans, and Estonians, deemed by some fate to live in the RSFSR, are proud to live here. Now, I do not in the least accept what is going on at present in a number of republics. Nationalist forces are charging the atmosphere and drafting laws that offend the dignity of one nation or another. Who today is arguing about the need for democratic perestroyka in the various republics? Nobody! But if you can create a law-governed republic which does not offend the dignity of a single nation you are worth your weight in gold. [end recording]

Perfilyev on Perestroyka, Supply Situation

AU2909151789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 25 Sep 89 p 9

[Erich Hoorn report: "Perestroyka Must Improve Supplies"]

[Text] Aarhus—Perestroyka must soon show positive results in the form of better supplies to the population, stated Vadim Perfilyev, deputy press spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Despite numerous problems, he says, perestroyka is irreversible. However, he admits that nationality problems have developed into a "delicate matter." The admission of other parties in addition to the CPSU is not being officially considered.

This was the concise form in which Perfilyev answered a question from DIE PRESSE about the Soviet Union's three greatest problems. Completely in accordance with glasnost, he dealt with the most pressing problem, that is, the supply situation.

There are various reasons why the shops look even emptier than before, he said. In general, the USSR is not producing fewer foodstuffs and consumer goods than before; however, its imports have to be reduced because of the shortage of foreign exchange. Moreover, according to Perfilyev, some of the consumer goods are directly sold to the staff in the shops owned by the enterprises. The new cooperative restaurants also buy a lot of foodstuffs. Finally, an increasing amount of goods is set aside for the black market.

"Even if only 10 percent of the products are missing, there are enormous supply problems because some goods simply disappear from the market," stated this diplomat, who has experience of the West. There are plans to fill the shops by increasing imports and labor productivity.

Andreyeva's Latest Manifesto Attacked

18001667 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 2

[Article by Yevgeniy Ambartsumov: "Socialism or Stalinism? Notes in the Margins of Some Articles"]

[Text] The complication of the economic situation and other difficulties that are increasing in our lives understandably make Soviet citizens very critical. In the majority of them the critical mood evokes a natural desire to accelerate perestroyka and the reforms and to resolutely overcome the obstacles on their path. But there are also people who, in reference to the same problems, try to turn back the wheels of history and return the country and the people to the darkness of Stalinism. Even quite recently these people would not risk expressing these views too loudly, but today it seems that it is the deepening of the problems that has given them courage.

As though on signal, we have recently begun to see articles in which an increasingly distinct shadow is being cast on perestroyka and its motive force—democratization. Thus the reader countrywide is again faced with the notorious Nina Andreyeva, the author of an article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that created a stir a year and a half ago. "I cannot forego the principles" which our country at that time quite justifiably regarded as a manifesto of anti-imperialist forces. N. Andreyeva's current article (or the one written under her name) was published in MOLODAYA GVARDIYA (No 7 for 1989) in the form of a letter which the editors published under the banner headline: "Everyone Is Affected..."

Nina Andreyeva. It can be said of Nina Andreyeva that she has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing. Not only has she not retracted any of her previous statements, but she is switching to an active counterattack.

One can begin with the fact that she gives a purely negative evaluation to all of our development of recent years. This is not about the socioeconomic situation—here she is more condescending, calling for it not to be dramatized. Her indignation is aroused by democracy and glasnost, which she thinks have quite wrongly been given "self-sufficient meaning" and which "only serve to solve specific social problems." There it is, the first remnant of Stalinism—a purely utilitarian attitude toward these human values!

In spite of the opinion of the reformist forces in the party and among the people concerning subjects that should no longer be forbidden for criticism and glasnost, N. Andreyeva asserts: "Glasnost, lacking any edges or boundaries, can become an impediment to social progress and engender the most natural manifestos of antiperestroyka forces and not those 'so branded' (?!)" It is clumsy from the standpoint of grammar and semantics, but extremely definite on the plane of personal self-assertion and politics: glasnost reined in and forced into an ironclad channel of what the letter shows to be Stalinist ideology.

N. Andreyeva asserts that our glasnost risks being transformed into a "foul-smelling bog or a dirty, stagnant puddle." But in reality everything is the opposite for it is widespread glasnost that has brought our society to a decisive and health-improving self-purification. How many blank, or rather black spots have we wiped away, how many abscesses have we revealed during these years! Democratization and glasnost have straightened us out and opened our eyes to reality, even though it may not be very gratifying.

In N. Andreyeva's words, glasnost has always and everywhere been restricted to the period of "crisis phenomena." This is an obvious distortion of history. Suffice it to recall that during the first sociopolitical crisis in Soviet history in 1921 it was V.I. Lenin who discussed it openly and at the top of his voice, and it was open revision of the previous "military-communistic" policy, which caused this crisis, that led through the NEP [new economic policy] to the improvement and flourishing—alas, too short-lived—of the Soviet society.

What specifically does Nina Andreyeva dislike about glasnost? First of all, the "far from pure wave of 'new documentalistics'" which is typical, she thinks, of "insulting sensationalism." It is generally known that the "new documentalistics" attracted attention to itself primarily through the truth about Stalin and those around him—Yezov and Beria, Molotov and Kaganovich—and their crimes against the Soviet people. But in Nina Andreyeva's opinion this is not the fresh wind of truth but a "flurry of malicious 'overthrows' of Stalin and a number of other leaders of our party and state," a "desecration of everything holy."

I must admit that my position is close to that of Igor Zolotusskiy, who in a recent article declared the unacceptability of pluralism in relation to Stalin. The people have branded him a criminal forever, but Nina Andreyeva is trying to rehabilitate this criminal, insulting the memory of his victims. And the magazine MOLODAYA GVARDIYA is distinguished from other publications by the fact that from issue to issue it publishes articles whitewashing Stalin and it does not even shrink from direct falsifications. A recent example of this is the publication of the false "memoirs of Benediktov" (No 4 for 1989).

But let us return to Nina Andreyeva. It seems that she clearly embodies that long and sadly familiar sociopsychological type of "protector of socialism" who was prepared to subject any critically thinking citizen to harsh punishment. It is no accident that the group of N. Andreyeva's colleagues at the institute where she works recently reminded us in OGONEK about her and her husband's slanderous anonymous letters and the harsh party punishments received because of them.

"...Into what are we restructuring our 'socialism born in battles'?"—N. Andreyeva exclaims pathetically. It is understandable that she does not like the direction of perestroyka, but is it allowed to ask what kind of "socialism" is meant? Is it not the kind of socialism on behalf of which millions of peasants were doomed to starvation and hundreds of thousands of honest party members were lined up to be shot. Nina Andreyeva equates Stalin with our achievements, with our victories. (It is noteworthy that in her letter to MOLODAYA GVARDIYA out of caution she leaves out his name, but she openly praises him in a conversation with an American journalist from THE WASHINGTON POST printed in issue No 33 of OGONEK). In response to this Stalinist apologetics one must say directly: The people won the Great Patriotic War because of their heroic self-sacrifice and in spite of Stalin, who is mainly responsible for the catastrophic defeats of the first period of the war and for the excessive sacrifices the people underwent before, during, and after the war.

N. Andreyeva is so faithful a Stalinist that she has even adopted a polemical device from her teacher—fact juggling and meaning-filled reticence, distortion of facts, and direct slander. Thus when listing a number of "restructured" newspapers and magazines, including SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, N. Andreyeva, without presenting a single fact, accuses them of "lies, subjectivism, lack of proof, and permissiveness," and the youth press and television programs again of a "lack of proof and of demagoguery."

And in the tone of Stalinist hatred for the intelligentsia she comes down on modern figures in our culture, apparently trying to turn the readers against them and place on them the responsibility for the country's sad condition. This is a device, incidentally, which is becoming more and more fashionable among people who think like Nina Andreyeva!

She accuses Comrade Abalkin of calling for "turning back to the command system" although he was simply paraphrasing various formulas for overcoming the economic crisis while holding to a consistent course toward reform as reflected in the draft he presented (which was approved by the Supreme Soviet) for amendments to the law on the state enterprise. She reproaches R. Medvedev for the fact that "not having stirred up the dust on a single archive file, he still managed to publish almost 30 books in the West." It was as though N. Andreyeva did not know that in the past Roy Medvedev—and he was not the only one—was forbidden access to the archives and that only because of perestroyka has he now been able to have his work printed in our country as well.

It is highly typical that Nina Andreyeva is also offended by the progress in our foreign policy: "Having pushed into the background the military and labor accomplishments of the Soviet people, which made it possible to achieve military parity with the militaristic machine of imperialism..., the defense consciousness of the people is being undermined." The militant chemistry teacher clearly does not like the fact that Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Afghanistan or that the lives of their children are no longer threatened by this danger. Nor does she like the fact that we have recognized the lack of promise and rationality in the drive for military "parity-superiority" and that because of the agreements with the United States for mutual arms reduction it will now be possible to carry out a partial conversion of our military industry for the needs of the people. For how much of our means and forces were sacrificed for the notorious defense consciousness, which would better be called a siege mentality and which threateningly paralyzed or dissipated the people's creative potential. But Stalinism feels at ease precisely under siege conditions, and for this it needs the myth of internal and foreign enemies.

In THE WASHINGTON POST interview N. Andreyeva directly disputes M.S. Gorbachev's orientation toward a decisive renewal of the country and the party and its cadre, although in the letter to MOLODAYA GVARDIYA his name is left out, obviously out of caution. Then at the end of the letter she demands "resolutely and consistently a parting of the ways with those who are not taking the socialist path with the people." As is clear from N. Andreyeva's letter, Stalinism is the only true socialism, and everything else is the work of the devil. This is why she would like to see a purge of anti-Stalinism, perestroyka in the opposite direction.

Such a detailed discussion of N. Andreyeva's new manifesto is certainly not explained by its being supported among the people—this impression might be created from the content of the critical article by Gennadiy Lisichkin (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI of 13 August of this year). It would seem that there is no need to take seriously N. Andreyeva's claim to the role of "confessor" for "young people from many regions of our immense country." Our people really are bothered by the condition of the country and the fact that perestroyka is spinning its wheels; G. Lisichkin is right about this. But the results of the elections and other indirect information show that the majority of the people reject Stalinism and apologetics for it, which comprise the essence of N. Andreyeva's views. Everyone has noted: Portraits of Stalin, previously so widespread, have disappeared from the windshields of cars and not because someone has prohibited them—as we know, this has not happened—but because after the disclosure of Stalin's crimes, even incorrigible Stalinists will not throw down such an obvious gauntlet to the prevailing public opinion.

In THE WASHINGTON POST interview N. Andreyeva asserts that the working people's faith in perestroyka has been shaken because our past has been maligned." This is slander against the working man who has enough common sense to tell black from white, Stalinist abuses from the heroism of millions of our compatriots, say, during the years of the war. Perestroyka does not blacken our past but, on the contrary, elucidates it. And if someone's faith has been shaken it is because of the ineffectiveness and inconsistency of the implementation of a number of important reforms which, incidentally, have been interfered with by the Nina Andreyevas at various levels and of various stripes.

Their main argument is that the reforms and perestroyka are generally threatening the very existence of socialism. There is indeed a threat: not to socialism, but to Stalinism; socialism can only become stronger by being purified of its Stalinist legacy. Replacing the one concept with the other, the Nina Andreyevas sound the alarm, trying to inflame passions.

Why is it necessary to speak in the plural? Because N. Andreyeva is not the only one of her kind. On 2 August after a long recess, Professor Richard Kosolapov, the former editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST, wrote in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. He also begins in dramatic tones: "The rats have already abandoned the party ship and it takes a lot of courage to stay on board and not lower the flag!" Strange as it may be, there are now many people who seriously consider themselves to be lonely flag bearers on the sinking ship of socialism. They are simply unable to understand that it is the rusty ship of Stalinism that is sinking to the bottom. The true champions of socialism, of a truly humane society in which, in the words of Marx and Engels, the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all, has long been on a different ship sailing under the Leninist flag of perestroyka.

It is not just a matter of the immorality of Stalinism, but also of the fact that if it were continued or renewed it would be accompanied by such cataclysms and our society would end up in such an abyss that our current difficulties and problems would look like slight indisposition.

What does R. Kosolapov suggest to overcome the party crisis? In the first place, a purge of the party apparatus, which is in accord with N. Andreyeva's appeal for delineation (although a purge is a two-edged sword and it is not clear who will be purged). In the second place—and this, obviously, is the most essential—to limit the term in office of the general secretary of the Central Committee to one period between congresses or, even better, to eliminate this post, introducing the practice of taking turns at being the chairman for the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat at their meetings. "This would remove," explains R. Kosolapov, "the tinge of authoritarianism from the Central Committee decisions and would contribute to increasing its real authority as the management collective."

These ideas might possibly seem democratic to some people. But let us look into them more deeply. The Yugoslav experience shows, and our Yugoslav comrades admit, that this system of leadership is simply ineffective. We have our own historical precedent: A similar solution was suggested by the conservatives of the Molotov-Malenkov-Kaganovich group when they tried to overthrow the reformer Khrushchev.

If what happened in 1964 were to happen today, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the conservatives would get the upper hand and, judging from the last Central Committee plenums, they are becoming increasingly influential in the "leadership collective." But this has not happened so far and the leadership of M.S. Gorbachev, with the support of the people, of course, is today the only practical guarantee of the persistence of perestroyka. Therefore, incidentally—this remark is not only for the advocates, but also the sincere opponents of N. Andreyeva—any undermining of the effectiveness of the central authority, from whatever side and under whatever banner it may be undertaken, is fraught today with dangerous consequences for the fate of perestroyka.

Apparently purely by chance, at the same time the articles by N. Andreyeva and R. Kosolapov appeared, an article by the secretary of the Ulyanov CPSU Oblast committee, O. Kazarov, appeared in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA on 6 August. In it he decisively refutes M.S. Gorbachev's conclusion that the party is lagging behind the process of perestroyka, a conclusion based on a precise analysis of the results of the elections and public opinion. Again O. Kazarov, like N. Andreyeva, has a right not to agree and to argue with the general secretary. But it is symptomatic that the two authors not only conduct themselves in the same way, but also use the same arguments: the loss of communist ideals, activization of the "loudmouths and various informal groups," and subversion of the defense mentality. Although this term is not used by O. Kazarov, he is disturbed by the reduction of our Armed Forces or, more concretely, by the early discharge from the Army of student draftees. Explaining this decision of the Supreme Soviet by "emotions," he clearly does not understand that we have finally drawn not only a moral, but also a rational conclusion about the inadmissibility of wasting the fragile but extremely rich intellectual potential of our society. Like R. Kosolapov, O. Kazarov reproaches the "center" for authoritarianism and for acting "without consulting the party," and he also sees an internal purge as the solution.

Disputing the positive evaluation by M.S. Gorbachev and, judging from polls, by the majority of Soviet citizens of the principle of having alternatives when electing people's deputies, and being indignant with his "loudmouth opponents," O. Kazarov, like N. Andreyeva, demonstrates his hostility to democratization and glasnost.

It is apparent that O. Kazarov, like both N. Andreyeva and R. Kosolapov, sees perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost as the cause of all our current problems. It seems that these people simply do not wish to understand that the real cause lies in the deep-seated vices of the Stalinist system, vices which we cannot overcome—bureaucratic statism and monopolism, intolerance of independent activity of the people and fear of it, and the sluggishness and attachment of everything to "party-state."

Trying to explain why many of his colleagues give in to the "loudmouths," O. Kazarov declares haughtily: "A real party worker will always agree to participate in any serious discussion. But it must be serious and not just crowd noise... In any discussion the tone must be set not by those who just see the problems, but by those who see the solutions to them."

Apparently Comrade Kazarov is ready for discussion according to the old model whereby he sits in the presidium and "sets the tone." If he wishes to he will respond, if he does not he will declare the question to be antagonistic. For him an excited audience is a crowd and not the people. He has become accustomed to speaking under these conditions. But you must learn if you want to remain a party activist.

For to be a real party activist today means to be a politician; that is, not to be afraid to enter into direct dialogue with the people in any situation regardless of how tense it may be. Lenin and the Bolshevik revolutionaries were not afraid of noise or catcalls or rowdy crowds. Since perestroyka is a revolution, Comrade Kazarov should understand that the time of a peaceful life for party workers has passed.

It is true that he is frightened: Alternative elections will not work in the party—no candidates will be found. They will be there, Comrade Kazarov, it is simply that they will be of a different type from the ones who are there today. The elections of USSR people's deputies, having sharply increased the proportion of party members in the legislative body, have shown: The party has a powerful potential and there are truly perestroyka forces capable of renewing it. There are also such forces in the party apparatus.

Since the party is rejecting the duplication of soviet and economic organs and is concentrating on political leadership, things are consequently proceeding toward the point of a change in the character of "secretaryship" in the local areas so that the party secretary will become the "master" of the rayon or oblast; he will change from the leader of the local apparatus to a political leader.

N. Andreyeva shares with O. Kazarov a concern about the loss of authority of the party-bureaucratic apparatus. For instance, she attacks Academician T. Zaslavskaya for interpreting perestroyka as a redistribution of authority between social classes. "To whose advantage?"—she asks threateningly. To the people's advantage and to the detriment of the bureaucratic apparatus which has usurped this authority.

From a comparison of the materials that have been gathered, one can understand why in the recent past the article by N. Andreyeva, whom nobody had heard of up until now, has been extolled by a significant number of party obkoms [oblast committees] and raykoms [rayon committees].

I do not intend to dramatize the situation, but one is struck by the way conservative forces have come alive. As M.S. Gorbachev said in a recent speech on television, "from conservative positions they are trying to impose assessments of the situation which would motivate people to oppose perestroyka and form in them the opinion that it is necessary to halt the processes of change that have been started... otherwise, they say, there will be chaos."

In order to oppose this dangerous wave of neoconservatism it is obviously necessary to have a resolute consolidation of all proponents of perestroyka, putting off "until later" the solutions to the problems which might separate them. We need further democratization of the party, its leadership, and its apparatus, an influx of really progressive forces. And, of course, we need a real acceleration of perestroyka, implementation of the economic reforms, and the most rapid improvement of the life of the people, removing from it the burden of supporting nonproductive, essentially parasitic, social groups.

Ligachev Sums Up Moscow Bakers' Conference

PM1909082589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report on bakers' conference: "Sector Needs Overhauling"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] What's happened to the traditional reverence and respect for the baker's difficult work? Have they become a thing of the past, like the Moscow kalach [loaf shaped like a padlock], roll, and karavay [kind of round loaf]? Can we Muscovites retrieve them, and, if so, when? It is a difficult matter, demanding a great deal of effort and painstaking work. Otherwise, we run the risk of forgetting forever the taste of real crusty bread. These fears were expressed by many participants in last night's conference of the party-economic aktiv of Moscow's bakers and confectioners. [passage omitted]

Summing up the conference, Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who visited a number of baking and confectionery industry enterprises on 21 and 22 August, said:

The CPSU Central Committee constantly is monitoring questions of food supplies for the inhabitants of Moscow and the Moscow area. They have been examined on several occasions of late at the party Central Committee, by the government, and at Moscow and Moscow Oblast party and soviet organs. Late last year, there was a discussion of measures to develop the meat and dairy industry and just recently measures were discussed on improving fruit, vegetable, and potato supplies for Muscovites.

We are here today to examine the state of and measures to further improve the work of baking and confectionery industry enterprises and to improve supplies of bread and confectionery for the population.

At first glance, the situation in these sectors might appear to be fine. Enough bread and confectionery are being produced in per capita terms. But there are no reserve bakery capacities. If only one plant were to stop operating, thousands of people would be left without bread. Add to that the narrow range of bakery and confectionery products and the often poor quality of them, which is due primarily to the technical conditions of the baking industry, which I would describe as critical and extremely backward. Around 70 percent of the bread and roll production capacities were commissioned during the period between 1926 and 1935 and have not been significantly reconstructed.

And all the capital's confectionery enterprises have essentially celebrated their centenaries.

These sectors are underdeveloped in Moscow Oblast too. In short, there are many problems which must be tackled immediately.

It is our profound belief that the creation of favorable working and living conditions for people employed in these sectors is the decisive sphere of the future development of the baking and confectionery industry and, consequently, of the improvement of supplies of these products for the population, and, on this basis, the formation of highly skilled, settled labor collectives, the improvement of bakers' and confectioners' professional expertise, and enhancement of the prestige of these specialties.

Questions of the social development of labor collectives and the creation of favorable living and working conditions for them are primarily questions for the enterprises' leaders and public organizations and local party, soviet, and economic organs—party rayon committees, rayon soviet executive committees, and agroindustrial committees in Moscow and Moscow Oblast.

When it comes to establishing a settled labor collective, we allot a major role to the Communist Youth League [Komsomol]. Indeed, it is young people who who will comprise the future enterprise collective. Therefore, it is correct and farsighted to create youth teams and shops, organize competition between them, encourage young people's studies, organize their leisure, and work with young families. The work of your collectives' Komsomol organizations should be based on involving young people in running the enterprise, seeing to their social needs, and establishing a healthy, sober way of life.

Labor collectives must be helped to carry out organizational and economic perestroyka on the basis of economic accountability arrangements and self-management. A serious effort should be made to integrate production of and trade in bakery products, with enterprises setting up their own stores.

The question of reducing normative deductions from bakeries' and confectionery factories' profits and increasing the proportion of funds to be left at the enterprises' disposal for production and social development must be considered immediately.

The defense machine building ministries— those of general machine building, the aviation industry, and the defense industry—have embarked on the production of equipment for food industry enterprises amd on retooling them. Their job is to create a full range of world-class equipment for plants and factories and to produce individual types of production equipment to retool and maintain existing capacities. It is important to amalgamate sector agro-industrial production institutes and defense ministries' design organizations. Otherwise,it is impossible to create first-class modern equipment.

Resolute efforts must be made to rectify the situation regarding the training of cadres to handle new equipment and it would be best to train them first at machine building enterprises.

The baking industry needs one master. I believe the Moscow State Agro-Industrial Committee should be that master. Moreover, all the sectors involved in bread production must be amalgamated.

The new report and election campaign at food enterprises' party organizations should focus attention on all these questions, criticism and self-criticism should be comprehensively developed, and words must be put into practice.

A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; P.A. Paskar, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; Yu.A. Prokofyev and V.K. Belyaninov, secretaries of the Moscow CPSU City Committee; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee; A.T. Shamonin, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee; I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of the Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee; USSR ministers A.S. Systsov, O.N. Shishkin, and B.M. Belousov, and the leaders of a number of other central departments participated in the conference work.

Serious Crime 40 Percent up on Last Year in USSR

PM2109080189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "Crime in Figures" an article by A. Illesh, IZVESTIYA editor for the department of internal information, and V. Rudnev, justice adviser. It incorporates the following table on USSR crime statistics under the heading "Crime Statistics for January through August." As reproduced below, column A shows figures for "last year," column B shows figures for "current year," column C shows "growth rate in absolute figures," and column D shows "percentage growth rate," with minus signs before figures denoting negative growth.

	A	B	C	D
TOTAL NUMBER OF REPORTED CRIMES	1,140,264	1,518,647	378,383	33.2
Serious crimes reported	158,273	222,923	64,650	40.8
Committed in groups	130,200	149,033	18,833	14.5
Committed in a state of alcoholic intoxication	223,716	256,242	32,526	14.5
Crimes committed by or with participation of minors	105,117	128,254	23,137	22.0
Crimes committed by previous offenders	185,287	205,286	19,999	10.8
INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF CRIME				
Premeditated murder and attempted murder	10,646	13,700	3,054	28.7
Premeditated grievous bodily harm	23,515	33,692	10,177	43.3
Rape and attempted rape	11,635	14,132	2,497	21.5
Robbery with violence	7,051	12,284	5,233	74.2
Robbery	33,297	61,618	28,321	85.1
Theft of state or public property	94,657	162,001	67,344	71.1
Theft of citizens' personal property	308,589	513,066	204,477	66.3
Including theft from apartments	101,544	153,756	52,212	51.4
Thefts from hostels, hotels, leisure centers, sanatoriums, and boarding houses	16,626	24,062	7,436	44.7
Thefts of transportation means	41,643	76,578	34,935	83.9
Thefts from passengers	5,324	7,499	2,175	40.9
Fraud	13,767	15,632	1,865	13.5
Arson	3,480	5,590	2,110	60.6
Vandalism	75,066	89,305	14,239	19.0
Vandalism, of which, in apartments and hostels	15,839	14,493	-1,346	-8.5
Theft of weapons and ammunition	404	588	184	45.5

Burglars Net 10-15 Million Rubles Per Year

18001639 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 8

[Article by PRAVDA special correspondent B. Pipiya: "Your Money and Your Life: A United Front Against Crime"]

[Text]**Moscow-Leningrad—"...In recent years, the number of those detained and arrested was cut almost by half during a general increase in crime, from 749,000 people in 1987 to 402,000 in 1988." These are the words of USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V. Bakatin.**

As we see, the predictions about how it will be much worse for the criminal element, and much better for citizens within a framework of democracy have not yet come into being. Why not? We will try to answer this question with an example of apartment robberies, extremely cruel crimes causing significant public reverberations. ...One evening the bell rang in the apartment of Lenkomissiontorg senior trading expert N. Semenov.

"We want to see Andrey," a voice behind the door explained.

Andrey's father, Nikolay Arsentyevich, opened the door. Two young men stood on the threshold. It later turned out that these were A. Nikolayev and M. Korolev. Nikolay Arsentyevich said that his son does not live with his parents. This did not bother the visitors.

"There is a package for Andrey in the Vitebsk train station checkroom. Jot down the number and give it to him," they requested.

The owner left the foyer to get paper and a pen. During that moment, the robbers burst into the room and killed Nikolay Arsentyevich. The same fate befell his wife Olga Fedorovna and her mother, V. Kosinets, who were at home. The bandits disappeared with about 3,000 rubles in stolen property, and for a fairly long time. Then the gang expanded: It was joined by M. Krylov, a docker with the Baltic ocean steamship line, and G. Sapronov, a trolley conductor from station No 3. The next victim was to have been one M. Gramenitskaya-Boldyreva, but the woman was saved by her dog, who frightened the robbers with her barking."It seems as if someone is following me," Ye. Zakharenko, director of the "Sport, Hunting, and Fishing" store on Nevskiy Prospect, had told her relatives on more than one occasion.

They would calm her down, "What would anyone want with you, Liza? Maybe it's time to retire?" And indeed, Sapronov had been following Yelizaveta Petrovna, at Nikolayev's command.

One morning when Ye. Zakharenko opened the door to go to work, Nikolayev, Krylov, and Sapronov, armed with pistols and knives, pushed her back in. They killed her and her husband. They took away 6,000 rubles' worth of stolen goods.

The killers experienced no pangs of conscience. They regretted more that the bounty had not been bigger, so they said. A new plan emerged—robbing collection agents. They needed a car. Krylov and Nikolayev stopped a Moskvich on the street, and asked to be taken to a deserted part of the city. Car owner I. Tsurikov did not refuse the chance passengers.

Before getting to the designated place, Krylov shot the driver with his pistol point-blank in the back of the head; Nikolayev gave him a bullet to the abdomen. The collection agent robbery was called off; everything in the car was splattered with blood,and the windows were shattered. The killers disappeared again.

It took Leningrad criminal investigations staffers years to trace and identify the criminals.

The number of robbery assaults on our apartments and homes is steadily growing. Thus, in 1986, 1,132 attacks were perpetrated; in 1987, 1,164; in 1988, 1,323; in the first 6 months of this year, 1,054.

"The state of affairs in the area of predicting and solving crimes such as robbery assaults was discussed at the ministry's collegia and at meetings of the law enforcement organs," says militia Major General V. Bomonin, deputy chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Criminal Investigation Main Administration. The reasons for the unsatisfactory organization of the struggle against robbery assaults are both subjective and dependent upon the internal affairs organs.

Certain people perceive glasnost and democracy to be a free-for-all. The legislation currently in effect is incomplete. The article stipulating liability for purchasing illegally received property is practically "not in service." For example, 0.7 percent(!) of all those having information on their purchase of stolen property were called to account.

Establishing that a purchased item was acquired by illegal means is possible only with multiple incidents of sales. Therefore, single purchases of stolen goods go unpunished, even though it is clear that the person who is handed an item in short supply dirt cheap knows perfectly well what he is buying. And, of course, such people should at least be fined.

The struggle against parasitism has faltered. Over 5 years the number of those called to account for parasitism has fallen 20-fold.

"The system of compensation for material loss is imperfect," continues V. Bomonin. "As the result of thefts, robbers annually carry off 10-15 million rubles of cash and valuables from apartments and homes. The total of loss compensation does not exceed 30 percent. We proposed introducing a special norm into the criminal legislation, which would stipulate criminal accountability for malicious evasion of loss compensation. It seems advisable to create a special fund for loss compensation, as well as a reward fund for those militia staffers who ensure loss compensation. Incidentally, this was the practice in the twenties and thirties."

It must be acknowledged that the investigative operations work is conducted on a low level. Crimes requiring criminal investigation have increased 16.9 percent, and the number of investigators, only 1.4 percent. Specialized departments are being created to combat property crime. Subdivisions to combat organized crime are being formed. However, additional staff is not being allocated for their creation; militia staffers have simply been transferred from other departments for the time being. It seems that changing signs will not be of much use.

And how much has already been written and said about the militia's medieval material and equipment provisions. Suffice it to say that just as before, it takes the operational authority no less than 7 days to verify the criminal record of an individual who has broken the law. At the same time, the policeman in capitalist countries can receive such information without leaving his squad car.

And furthermore, criminal investigation is high-risk work. Until the pay rates of these staffers is raised accordingly, the fluidity of the cadres will increase; annually, there are about 3,000 people. Nor is crime detection well-served by the exodus of professionals, the service's constant rejuvenation.

Today, the USSR MVD is taking measures to strengthen the criminal investigations service, to improve the forms and methods of work. The recently-adopted USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the Decisive Intensification of the Struggle Against Crime" inspires high hopes. And in the meantime, it would be of some use to you and me to be concerned about our own security, to install intercom systems in main entrances, to reinforce apartment locks and doors, and to rig them with peepholes and chains. Vigilance must always be maintained; strangers must not be let into the house.

I would like to direct attention to this fact: 35 percent of those who participate in robbery assaults are not confined before their trials. I will allow myself to express some doubt here. Is so much humanity really necessary here? Crime must be met with suitable punishment, and especially dangerous crimes must receive harsh punishment, such as that meted out to the Nikolayev gang. Under the chairmanship of G. Vasilyeva, the Leningrad municipal court sentenced Sapronov to 15 years' deprivation of freedom, and Nikolayev, Korolev, and Krylov were sentenced to death. The sentence has been executed.

USSR MVD reports: Robbery assaults on houses and apartments cost the Soviet people 10-15 million rubles annually.

Staffers from the department for combating crime against citizens' personal property of the USSR MVD

Criminal Investigations Main Administration have compiled a conditional portrait of the modern robber. Robbery materials for 3 years were analyzed in depth. Here are the statistics: 99.6 percent of the robberies are perpetrated in groups. One out of every five participants in robbery assaults has had higher, uncompleted higher, or specialized secondary education. A significant number of them are former athletes, boxers, and wrestlers. Some 11 percent of the robberies are perpetrated by individuals under 18 years of age, 62.4, under 30, and 26.6, over 30. Of them, 43.3 have prior convictions, and 53.6 are not working.

Robbery victims included the following: Pilferers of socialist property, individuals engaged in blackmail during heated games, speculators, prostitutes, workers in trade, food services, and repair services, cooperative members, actors, artists, collectors of paintings, icons, and coins.

Some 76 percent of crimes were committed during daylight hours. In 70 out of 100 cases, the criminals penetrated the residences under the guise of being letter carriers, doctors, state insurance workers, residential service personnel, militia; in 26 cases, acquaintances and relatives of family members, or in their name, and in the remaining cases, by means of breaking down doors and windows.

During robbery assaults in residences, robbers utilized firearms in 58.7 percent of the cases; side arms, 41.3 percent; 27 percent of those assaulted suffered serious bodily harm; 12 percent, less serious; 39 percent, slight; 16.2, psychological effects, and 5.8 were killed.

Money and valuables were the objects of encroachment in 65.9 percent of the cases; imported radio equipment, 34.1 percent. Material losses inflicted on victims were up to 2,500 rubles in 69 percent of the cases; up to 10,000 rubles in 22.8 percent, and over 10,000 in 8.2 percent.

And, to conclude, we cite the figures on the robbers' punishment. In 1986, 62.7 percent of crimes were solved; in 1987, 44.5 percent; in 1988, 42.9 percent, and in the first six months of this year, 66.1 percent.

Investigator Telman Gdlyan Interviewed

PM1809115089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 15 Sep 89 p 12

[Interview with investigating magistrate Telman Gdlyan by Sandro Scabello in Moscow; date not specified]

[Excerpt] Moscow—"Believe me, the leadership of the Prosecutor's Office has no intention of reaching the truth about this case." Telman Gdlyan, the great investigator who uncovered the kickbacks mafia, has no intention of lowering his guard.

Since Monday he has been a magistrate in the dock. In the same verdict in which it absolved Yegor Ligachev, the Kremlin's leading conservative implicated by one of the prominent figures in the scandal, of all charges, the USSR Prosecutor General's Office heavily criticized the work of Gdlyan and his right-hand man Nikolay Ivanov, in practice accusing the two magistrates of having forced Uzbek first secretary Inamdzhan Usmankhodzhayev to confess by use of threats and of having implicated Yegor Ligachev without evidence, all with the aim of satisfying their political and personal ambitions.

But the affair that has been exciting the public for the past year cannot be said to be over. Gdlyan—a small, dark, friendly Armenian of about 50—has not given in, and as investigating magistrate into "special cases," here in his office on the fourth floor of an old building a few steps away from Mayakovskiy Square, he defended himself by counterattacking.

"What do you want me to tell you? My conscience, both as a magistrate and as a citizen, is perfectly clear. The lies against me are the last act in a campaign that dates back to April of last year—a campaign started by the corrupt members of the Central Committee...

[Scabello] This time, however, the Prosecutor General's Office, the country's supreme judicial authority, has intervened.

[Gdlyan] I will spare you an account of the first moves in this campaign launched against us when we were forced to remain silent. Suffice it for me to tell you that it was Sorokin himself, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet committee of inquiry into the affair, who in turn revealed the part played by the Prosecutor General's Office in an article in ARGUMENTY I FAKTI. The committee then concluded that the prosecutor general had, without proper reason, absolved Moldavian deputy secretary Smirnov and a leading Central Committee aide of charges of pocketing kickbacks worth millions of rubles. The committee demanded from the Prosecutor General's Office that the charge be reinstated and that Smirnov be arrested.

[Scabello] What does this have to do with the present business?

[Gdlyan] It is relevant. The committee also demanded an end to the campaign against us. Instead, yesterday, since the misdeeds of the Prosecutor General's Office were gradually coming to light and since the public was coming over to our side, they decided to take action on a grand scale to protect Politburo member Ligachev and some of the members of his entourage against legal proceedings.

Unjust Charge

[Scabello] That is a very serious assertion...

[Gdlyan] It is the first time I have made it. I have been accused and have no other chance of speaking out. I am forced to agree to comment in LA REPUBBLICA on the reports made about me.

[SCabello] But the Prosecutor General's Office says that you accused Ligachev unjustly, citing his name arbitrarily.

[Gdlyan] First, we did not accuse Ligachev of any crime and did not violate the sacrosanct principle of assumption of innonence. Now, as for Ligachev and his entourage—they did indeed violate the principle in our regard by making unjust and specific accusations against us. Since, trampling the law, they prevented us from completing an inquiry that would have led to their being accused or cleared, we had to turn to the public. Thus people realized who is preventing the establishment of a law-baseed state in this country.

[Scabello] However, one defendant claims that you forced him to confess by using threats.

[Gdlyan] What threats? I only made one "threat," so to speak, to Usmankhodzhayev and all the other defendants. I warned them not to level gratuitous charges. My interrogations were all recorded on video, sound tape, and paper. Moreover, on the first day I questioned the accused in the presence of Judge Svetlana Noskozkaya. The second day, on the Prosecutor General's suggestion, First Deputy Posecutor General Vasilev was present, and Usmankhodzhayev repeated everything word for word, including his charges against Ligachev. The prosecutor general also met with the defendant. On four occasions he asked him for an opinion about the judges conducting the inquiry, and on all four occasions was told that the inquiry was being conducted objectively and correctly. The defendant did not deny his statements until mid-April, when the terror against our group began. He realized he could play on this.

[Scabello] What about the others?

[Gdlyan] The other defendants who confessed also started retracting their statements, except for one former official. I am surprised that he, too, did not exploit this climate, thanks to which the Prosecutor General's Office acquitted seven high-ranking party and republican soviet officials, including Uzbek republican secretary Salimov, second secretary Ozetrov, the aforementioned Smirnov, and others. The last two are aides of Ligachev's. And do you know what? Perhaps the Prosecutor General's Office would have liked to continue the inquiry into some of them. But the Supreme Soviet said: Enough. So the defendants were acquitted without even being required to return the money stolen from the community. One of them, Raybov, declared his willingness to return R2 million received in bribes. But nobody lifted a finger.

Judicial Tragicomedy

[Scabello] Did you gather any evidence in support of the charges against Ligachev, or is there only the statement subsequently withdrawn?

[Gdlyan] This is the point. They did not give us the chance to complete the inquiry using the resources of the law. They deprived us of this opportunity and now they are criticizing us for it. It is to break down this front that we decided to speak out.

[Scabello] The Prosecutor General's Office says it has carried out a detailed inquiry.

[Gdlyan] Yes, by speaking wth Ligachev and his Central Committee aides. But do you know who lies concealed behind these officials? The entire tragicomedy lies in the fact that according to Usmankhodzhayev's charges, Ligachev was not alone in receiving R30,000, but so did some of his aides now being questioned as witnesses in his defense. These latter include a leading Central Committee official, one of the delegates to the 19th party conference, Ishkov, and others.

[Scabello] Do you have proof of this, too?

[Gdlyan] Naturally. [passage omitted]

KGB Operations Said To Earn 'Net Profit'

18001642 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 37, 16-22 Sep 89 p 4

[Commentary on letter from a reader by Major General G.V. Kuznetsov, head of a USSR KGB subdivision: "Is the KGB Profitable?"; first paragraph is the letter]

[Text] I believe that glasnost still has not affected the KGB. I see an explanation for this not in the organization being secret, but in the opportunity to spend under the cover of secrecy billions in people's money, free of control and without working particularly hard. This is apparently the reason why there are almost no reports in the press on successful operations in combating the mafia or foreign intelligence services. I think that it is time for a radical reduction of the staff of 400,000 lazybones who have entrenched themselves in this organization.
[Signed] A. Andreyev, Perm

Major General G.V. Kuznetsov, the chief of a KGB subdivision, comments on the letter by our reader.

At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Chairman of the USSR KGB V.A. Kryuchkov came out in favor of publishing the KGB budget. A publication of this kind will make it possible for the Soviet citizens to find out which apparatus this money pays to maintain. When the budget becomes known, the respect the public has for us will increase, stressed the chairman of the USSR KGB. Be that as it may, this requires a resolution by the supreme legislative organ of the country.

Naturally, I do not possess statistical information on the efficiency of operations of the entire Committee for State Security and the "billions" spent to maintain it. This is why I am going to look at our subdivision. Within admissible limits, I can tell you about some operations performed in recent years.

A statement reached the KGB organs which communicated that Director of the Gazstroy [State Construction and Assembly Trust of the Ministry of Construction of the Gas and Oil Industry Enterprises] Company Yu.A. Lykov lives beyond his means, receives valuable gifts from foreigners, and, supposedly, has a Swiss bank account. Verification carried out together with the staff of the USSR Procuracy revealed that Lykov, in collusion with former General Director of the All-Union Association Soyuzvneshstroyimport [All-Union Association for Importing Construction Equipment and Materials] V.A. Prasolov, his deputy D.K. Mikhaylov, and Chief Engineer of the Gazstroy Company A.A. Nikitin for a long time received systematic bribes from owners and representatives of companies from Finland, the FRG, Japan, France, and Italy, aiding foreign traders in signing contracts advantageous for them. As a result, losses totaling more than 10 million rubles were inflicted on the state. In the course of the investigation of the case filed against the individuals mentioned, the companies signed a written promise to repay the damages inflicted, and have mainly done so.

In another case, our staff became aware of illegal currency operations carried out by the employee of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry A.A. Ivanov, who dealt with organizing business trips abroad for the specialists of this industry in his line of duty. As a result of investigative actions performed by the organs of state security and the USSR Procuracy, 450,000 rubles were returned to the state, including 123,000 rubles in Vneshtorgbank [USSR Bank for Foreign Trade] checks.

Our staff caught in the act Deputy Chief of the Export Department of the All-Union Association Promzagranpostavka of the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry A.G. Logunov and Department Chief in one of the research institutes in the city of Tula E.B. Lyzlov. Taking advantage of the carelessness of some officials of the All-Union Association Vneshtekhnika [All-Union Association for Foreign Technology], they had entered into collusion with the representative of the Swiss company Messerli K. (Buman), overstating prices for the equipment purchased from this foreign company as much as possible. As a result of this illegal operation, the state had unjustifiably transferred abroad 162,200 West German marks. Valuables worth a total of 65,298 rubles were confiscated from the criminals. Other such examples could be given.

If we sum up all the funds which we return to the state annually, it will turn out that our subdivision not only pays for itself (including expenditures for paying wages to the staff), but also generates "net profit." However, you cannot evaluate everything in rubles. The main objective for us is not only to solve a crime already committed, but to prevent it, to fight for every Soviet man even if he has erred.

I cannot agree with the author of the letter in that we "do not work particularly hard." We do not have fixed hours, and we work as much as necessary, sometimes on days off and holidays when this is required.

Supreme Court Chairman on Court Plenum's Work

LD1809215689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has opened in Moscow. Taking part in its work are Comrade Sukharev, USSR general procurator; Comrade Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, and members of the collegiums of the ministries of justice of the union republics. [video shows shots of the plenum in session, with Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court speaking from a rostrum and a middle distance shot of a platform of other officials]

[Begin video interview] [Smolentsev] Unfortunately, there is such a wave of crime in our country at present that in essence, the investigating bodies are not coping with the investigation of all cases. So, if one were to take for example last year, say, the following picture emerges: 1.9 million crimes were registered, but the cases of only 680,000 people went to the courts—that is practically only every third person who committed a crime. Crimes—and to speak plainly—crimes of an aggressive tendency are growing, and so this can not fail but to alarm people...

[Unidentified interviewer] Precisely—excuse me—you laid particular stress in your report on the very information about specific cases of deliberate hooliganism.

[Smolentsev] Yes, I did this for a special reason, because of all that activity which we have just analyzed in great depth, the shortcomings relate first and foremost to activity connected with, say, the punishment of individuals who have perpetrated deliberate acts of hooliganism. It has turned out then that some kind of distortion has taken place. Not all deliberate hooligans are punished by the courts as they deserve.

[Interviewer] What draft law initiatives will you discuss at the plenum?

[Smolentsev] Well, in the selection on legislative initiatives we will discuss in particular the draft law on the responsibility for contempt of court and for interfering with court activity?

[Interviewer] That is, up to criminal responsibility?

[Smolentsev] Yes. We have already presented this law to the Supreme Soviet, and, so far as I am aware, the Supreme Soviet has already commenced the study of this law. It will be established right up to criminal responsibility, particularly where the issue is interference in court activity by people invested with certain authority and officials.

[Interviewer] Perhaps legislation lags behind the needs of the age in some areas. New economic enterprises are being set up. Conditions for our country to enter the world market are being established generally—are our jurists or courts, say, always prepared to tackle matters of that kind?

[Smolentsev] I think that from the point of view of our legislation, we have to arrange our work in such a way that it under no circumstances lags behind those changes taking place in the economy. But, so far as the activity of the courts is concerned, they cannot function outside the framework of the law, and so they can only function within the framework of law which has already been adopted.

[Interviewer] So new laws are needed.

[Smolentsev] New laws are needed.

[Interviewer] A new interpretation of the situation?

[Smolentsev] New laws are indisputably needed which would give the court the opportunity to function in a certain direction. [end interview]

Interviewed in PRAVDA

PM2009090989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 89 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by "our correspondent" G. Ovcharenko: "Themis' Plans"]

[Excerpts] The USSR Supreme Court Plenum began work in Moscow yesterday. Before it opened our correspondent met with Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the country's supreme court. [passage omitted]

[Ovcharenko] Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, there will be talk of legal practice which is criticized today both by the supporters of tougher punitive measures and by those militating for the humanization of justice.

[Smolentsev] Obviously. But in my view a golden mean must be found on—and I stress this—a legal basis. We have had enough of charging from one extreme to the other! There was a time when the courts sent up to two-thirds of all those convicted to prison. The colonies and other corrective labor institutions were overcrowded. Then one-off decrees on mass releases—amnesties—were issued. This merely led to the growth of recidivist crime. No, we must not toughen or mitigate punishment without grounds, out of considerations of short-term expediency, but we must act so that punishment, as Marx said, becomes the means of society's self defense against the violation of the conditions of its existence. In other words, the differentiation of punishment is morally and economically to society's advantage. Imprisonment for substantial periods for serious crimes and punishments without imprisonment for law violations not connected with any special social danger. Nor must we fear "not guilty" verdicts. Incidentally, they are already becoming more frequent. In brief, the court must be guided only by the law. That is our firm position. And only on this position can the courts comply with the tasks which have been set them by the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

[Ovcharenko] What other questions are being submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Court plenum?

[Smolentsev] The most urgent. For instance, the state of crime and the conviction rate in the country. Here we will specifically defend the "golden" mean in legal practice which I have already mentioned and which should really become such that every member of society is convinced that not a single crime will go unpunished and not a single innocent person will be convicted. Another question is no less topical: legal practice in the courts' application of legislation on responsibility for encroaching on the life, health, and dignity of militiamen and people's voluntary militia members. A number of other problems in the courts' application of legislation will also be examined. [passage omitted]

Lawyer Urges Abolition of Border Controls

PM2009145489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 38, 17 Sep 89 p 4

[Doctor of Juridical Sciences Lev Simkin article: "Why Are Our Borders Sealed?"

[Text] "The captain's asleep, and dreams that the border's as open as the Kremlin gates..." Vladimir Vysotskiy wrote this song about 30 years ago when the gates to the Kremlin, closed under Stalin were flung open for the people. Yet our borders even today are tightly sealed. Against whom?

It is incomparably easier for foreigners to cross them than for us. Last summer I took part in the ecological expedition Laplandia-89, the route of which passed across Finland, Norway and the USSR. We didn't avoid mixing with tourists on our way. Two of them—Heinrich Harold, a teacher from Bonn, and Roberto Tartallini, a photographer from Bari, Italy—grew so accustomed to our company that they wanted to continue to travel with us. When crossing the Finnish-Norwegian border, it became clear that they needed no visas. No one would have paid any attention to us either, if we, having passed two poles with the flags of the neighbouring countries, hadn't stopped at the little house of the frontier post. Strange though it seemed to us, it was just one for both states. Smiling young boys—one Norwegian frontier guard and his Finnish counterpart—offered us colourful booklets of Scandinavia, rubberstamped our passports and showed us the way.

Surprises ended on the Norwegian-Soviet border, at Lake Pikevan. Having passed through the customs there, we were jolted for a whole hour in a bus before we drove into the first "open" inhabited locality. The bus was stopped several times by details of frontier guards who, with the usual sullen look, counted the passengers and opened more and more gates. Through the window we could see long fences with barbed wire on top, along which stretched a ploughed patch of land.

The very notion of "border" is interpreted fairly broadly here. This is not only a line, separating the limits of countries' territories, but also a so-called border zone. For people not living in it, entry to it is possible only with permission from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The words "border zone" can block a son's way to his mother's grave, a tourist's way to memorable places, a mushroom lover's way to a forest, a fisherman's path to some desired lake or river. A border zone, it would seem, should directly adjoin the border, but the border, as we now know, is a loose concept. Therefore we have lots of such zones—hardly anyone knows their exact number, since the government acts in which they are enumerated are all classified.

I, for example, like to spend my vacations at the tourist camp in the Crimean settlement of Planerskoye. From my own private point of view, this is a Black Sea health resort. But it is also one of the frontiers of our Motehrland because lying on the shores of the same sea are other countries, from which spies and saboteurs could reach us in a submarine. Therefore don't think of buying an aqualung or wet suit. In other places this is freely sold, but here it is just as freely confiscated by the frontier guards.

Hardly had I once put out in a tiny inflatable boat from the shore of Tikhaya Bay than the powerful engine of a frontier motor boat roared up next to me, and I was told to return immediately or else my "means of sailing" would be confiscated. Nowhere in the area were there any warning signs, and although I'm a lawyer, I elected not to argue—ignorance of the law does not absolve one from observing it.

After the Vienna accords it is somewhat inappropriate to point out every individual's right to go wherever he wants to. The number of people wanting to cross the frontier illegally is directly proportional to the number of barriers put up to free exit. When everyone has a chance of freely receiving a foreign passport there just won't be any such people.

Soviet Trade Unions Advocate Right To Veto

LD2709091389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1742 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Sep (TASS)—"The Soviet trade unions stand up for their right to put a stop to administrative decisions that encroach upon the working peoples socioeconomic interests." This was said at the international seminar "Trade Union Rights and Freedoms in the Nineties," which opened today in Moscow, by Gennadiy Yanayev, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions (AUCCTU).

However, he did stress that Soviet trade unions do not intend to rise up in opposition to state bodies. Socialist production relations, which are based on ownership by the whole people, he continued, make it possible to ensure the implementation of social justice. Nevertheless, administrative-command methods of management, under which the interests of labor collectives are sometimes forgotten, are still strong in the Soviet economy. Trade union organizations, Gennadiy Yanayev pointed out, must possess specific levers to counteract this. For this reason, the draft law "On the Rights of the USSR Trade Unions," which is now being discussed throughout the country, contains a section on the right to veto, through which it is possible to put a stop to administrative decisions that encroach on the social and economic interests of collectives.

Cement Allocation Leads to Strike Threat

PM2709085789 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Sep 89 p 1

[N. Akritov dispatch from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions Press Center, "specially for TRUD": "Construction Industry Workers Demands. The Possible Consequences of an Ill-Considered Decision"]

[Text] "Government Business.

"Moscow, The Kremlin. To Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

"As a result of unlawful actions by the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], 150,000 construction industry workers within the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry system will find themselves unemployed and unpaid in the next few days.

"A coordinating commission has been set up in the sector trade union central committee. Its sitting today was attended by trade union committee representatives from all corners of the country, including Siberia and the Far East. But the deputy chairmen of the two aforementioned committees, who were invited by telegram, did not attend the commission's sitting.

"The question of calling a warning strike could appear on the agenda. We ask you to receive members of the coordinating commission and listen to the working people's demands.

"On instructions from the commission,
"[Signed] Startsev, secretary of the trade union central committee."

Moscow, 20 Sep—The text of this telegram was adopted at a sitting of coordinating commission members, including representatives of trade union committees from construction organizations under the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry.

At their sitting, the representatives of labor collectives and the trade union central committee were discussing what would be more advantageous for the country: to earn R9 million from the sale of cement to the population, or to pay about R30 million for the enforced idleness of the sector's construction industry workers who would be deprived of this cement. Or should highly skilled workers be nonetheless given an opportunity to continue building housing, kindergartens, polyclinics, hospitals, pigpens, and cow sheds and thus prevent the country incurring losses which could exceed R250 million. This could actually happen unless the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab repeal their decision to reduce the construction industry organizations' stocks by 153,000 tonnes of cement and sell it through the trade network.

A week before the sitting, the coordinating commission sent a telegram to USSR Gosplan Chairman Yu.D. Maslyukov and USSR Gossnab Chairman P.I. Mostov. In view of the warning of a possible mass strike by the sector's construction industry workers caused by the cement shortfall, the commission asked that the two committees' Deputy Chairmen K.V. Malakhov and V.A. Faustov, who were already involved in talks on these matters, be sent to attend its sitting. The time and place of the sitting were given.

But the invited officials did not attend. Following a stormy sitting, with passions boiling as they did in the mining towns, the commission members decided to make one more attempt to reach accord by peaceful means. And that was the origin of the telegram at the beginning of this report...

'Unauthenticated' Press Attacks To Be Investigated

PM2709103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 Single Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Meeting with Journalists"]

[Text] The discussion at a 21 September working meeting between the leadership of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals and representatives of the Soviet mass media centered on priority areas in the Committee's work.

Deputy Chairman B.N. Nikolskiy briefed journalists on the Committee's structure, functions, and tasks. He noted that one of the important areas in the Committee's work was dealing with citizens' letters in which they express their wishes and recommendations relating to the Supreme Soviet's work and report violations of Soviet legality by officials and various other abuses. Dwelling on the Committee's progress in preparing a Law on the Press, the speaker announced that the draft law has been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Journalists were acquainted with the Committee's decision adopted during a session held 19 September. It was devoted to the publication in certain press organs of materials insulting the honor and dignity of USSR people's deputies. An article published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA about allegedly anti-Soviet statements made at an unauthorized rally by People's Deputy S.L. Shlichite, and an article reprinted in PRAVDA from the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA were cited in this context. Committee members noted in their statements that the latter article was not only tendentious but was written in a gutter press style unacceptable in Soviet publications.

This question was raised not just with the aim of defending deputies against criticism in the press but also in connection with the attempts of certain forces to sow distrust of people's deputies, discredit them in the eyes of the voters, and belittle their role in the renewal of the country's political system. Reports about incidents of this kind have been received from the Ukraine, Siberia, and Central Asian republics. It was emphasized that it is impermissible for the press to contribute to this, either by using methods which are questionable in professional terms or by spreading unverified information.

It was decided to hold a special hearing on the circumstances which led to the publication in newspapers of articles in which unauthenticated materials about USSR People's Deputies have been utilized.

Officials Discuss Military Expenditure, Space Projects

LD2309182289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1815 GMT 22 Sep 89

[From the "View" program]

[Excerpts] Not only will the group of program assistants and the presenter answer your questions today, but so will our guests, Academician Roald Sagdayev and Oleg Poptsov, chief editor of SELSKAYA MOLODEZH. And so to discuss conversion, a word that has come into our vocabulary recently. [passage omitted]

[Sagdayev] It is not only a matter of an atomic shield, of gigantic reactors which have cooked up the plutonium, of installations which have produced the highly enriched purified Uranium-235 for atomic bombs, but of the military industry in general. That is, having made the only correct decision to opt for a reduction in the military budget—even if it is only on a unilateral basis—and in expenditure on military industry, it is now a matter of using that potential, the very large potential—the technological potential, the intellectual potential of those who do the work, and the hands of the workers. This is an industry with a turnover of less than 10 billion roubles. That is the amount that we are to switch over to peaceful production during the next few years. [passage omitted]

[Poptsov] Roald Zinkurovich, in principle does the community of deputies,—I am putting my question to you as a people's deputy—have any idea of the size of the reductions of the expenses which will be caused by conversion; after all, there probably will be such expenses. To what extent will this process proceed successfully and without conflict, as Volodya was saying? It was not mentioned fortuitously that in both the FRG and America there is a law on conversion. I think that with the size of our industry—I imagine that it is somewhat larger than in the FRG. I do not want to insist on this, but it is evident that this is so.

[Sagdayev] I will not argue with you. I think that during the summer, the deputies of our new congress of People's Deputies and of the Supreme Soviet received figures for military expenditure of an orientational nature. Then they had the opportunity to put questions to the reappointed ministers of the defense sectors of industry; and I think that now the committee on defense and the KGB has a real possibility of getting to the bottom of the matter, if they are not hindered in this. To a significant degree, this depends of course on the civic courage of those who became members of this committee. I think that this committee and the community of deputies in general can help conversion in the country.

[Presenter] Perhaps this will be the last thing in this, our first discussion—space. All our space activity is run by the military. For a long time you were at the head of the Space Research Institute.

[Sagdayev] You know, I have to say that we also have civilian space activity, but unfortunately for a long number of years it was a hostage in the hands of that type of space activity that mainly is interested in major praiseworthy launches and TASS reports. We are already into the second thousand in the series of Cosmos satellites, and each time the Soviet citizen is told that the next scientific launch has occurred, that the scientific program is being carried out, and that the information is being processed in the Institute of the Academy. As a director, I know that, at most, we launched two or three, at the most, four, scientific satellites a year. Where are the other hundred?

[Presenter] Am I supposed to answer that? [passage omitted]

New Political Journal DIALOG Detailed

18001640 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "'DIALOG': The New Journal of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] DIALOG, the CPSU Central Committee's new sociopolitical journal, will replace POLITICHESKOYE OBOZRENIYE and AGITATOR starting January 1990. As indicated in the party Central Committee resolution, its purpose is to cast light on the variety of forms of the country's political life, to actively formulate a constructive attitude toward perestroyka, presenting various points of view, to aid the renewal of ideological work, the improvement of verbal political propaganda, agitation, and party study, to conduct an open conversation with people on all internal and foreign policy issues of interest to them, to develop science, education, culture, literature, and art, and the training and indoctrination of youth.

The journal will disclose the topical problems of socialism's renewal, the party's activity, the theory and practice of perestroyka, both in popular discussion and polemic form, taking the readers' demands into consideration as much as possible, and answering their questions in the language of arguments and comparisons.

DIALOG is planned for a broad circle of readers, the party's ideological aktiv, propagandists, students, lecturers, campaigners, political information officers, social sciences instructors, all those who are interested in sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and moral problems.

The journal will be issued 18 times per year. The price will be 25 kopeks per issue. Subscription rates will be R4.5 annually. POLITICHESKOYE OBOZRENIYE subscribers will receive DIALOG without resubscribing, if they have no objections. Subscribers to AGITATOR will receive the first 14 issues. They may subscribe for one year, if they so desire, upon paying an additional 90 kopeks. Subscriptions are being taken at all post offices.

New Magazine for Arctic Dwellers, Workers

LD2309170589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 23 Sep 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Summary] SEVERNYYE PROSTORY [Northern Expanses] is a new magazine that has been created for people living and working in the Arctic. The first issue will be published in January.

Economic

Specialist Discusses Operations of 'Shadow Economy'

18001641 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 37, 16-22 Sep 89 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with A. Larkov, juridical sciences candidate and manager of the Problems of Fighting Economic Crimes Sector of the VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] of the USSR Procuracy, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent A. Binev; date and occasion not specified]

[Text][Binev] What is hidden behind the sinister essence of the term "shadow economy"?

[Larkov] Speaking in the language of the criminalists, we apply the term shadow economy to underground economic activity; i.e., economic activity that is hidden from accountability and monitoring.

According to calculations of economists, the state sector now has R470 billion of above-norm stores of resources; i.e., a far larger amount of materials is distributed among enterprises than they need. These resources are one of the most realizable sources of illegal operations. Another source is resources that are not shown in accounts.

[Binev] Is the sphere of activity of the "shadow economy" just limited to this?

[Larkov] This was the case initially. Subsequently, the boundaries widened considerably. Bribes are given for increasing input quotas, the supply of products, favorable adjustments to plans, etc. All possible kinds of upward distortions and write-offs are nothing more than a means of concealing the activity of the underground economy. The deliberate complication of economic questions and the creation of various kinds of obstacles and difficulties that force the consumer to pay for them should also be placed in this category.

[Binev] In such a case, it turns out that the "mafia" and the "shadow economy" are related concepts?

[Larkov] Yes, these are very close phenomena. The growth in the deficit, which is especially artificial, but it is what prevails here, stimulates the "black market." The colossal income that is concentrated in the hands of the "shadow economy participants" gives them real power over people.

[Binev] What is the financial potential of the "shadow economy?"

[Larkov] Some investigators cite R70-90 billion a year, others—R100-150 billion. I think that even the latter figure is obviously too low. In particular, it does not take into account data on the theft of state subsidies for the purchase of agricultural products. The state allocates R50-60 billion annually for these purposes, of which R20 billion is for meat alone. Selective investigation of our institute shows that the main part of these resources is misappropriated owing to the difference in the high purchase and low retail prices. Sometimes products are stocked and sold only "on paper."

These figures also do not take into account losses from criminal mismanagement, which contributes to the activity of the "shadow economy." For example, more than a third of the vegetables and fruit is lost in transport and storage, and another 13 percent in trade. This attracts plunderers. A majority of the thefts at fruit bases are accomplished in exactly this way. You do not have to go far for specific examples. At one time at Moscow's Cheremushkinskiy fruit storage facility, a technological improvement was made in the processes of storing and processing products, and the wastes immediately fell to 1-2 percent, instead of 11-13 percent, as was the case earlier. Right then there was a general discharge of workers of the facility, and in the end the director was also dismissed. The new equipment was simply broken at the other facility.

Together with this, I think that among the items of the "shadow economy," estimated at R150 billion, the dimensions of the thefts of unrecorded products were also not considered.

[Binev] Now the organized crime is "mounting an attack" on cooperatives. Does this mean that cooperatives have not become involved in the sphere of activity of the "shadow economy?"

[Larkov] The cooperative movement, which is based on sound economic principles, of course, is opposed to the underground economy. But at the present time, the power of the latter is so great that the cooperatives are frequently drawn into the orbit of its activity. Objective pre-conditions favor this: The absence of its own raw materials base and the non-attachment of the market mechanism to the administrative management of the economic system. From this comes the theft of raw materials and materials at state enterprises, and speculation.

Theft is also very widespread today in the use of non-commodity operations. In this sphere, the "unclean" ties of state enterprises with cooperatives are being distinctly tracked. Often, work by the cooperatives is not performed, but money is transmitted to their accounts and they deduct it and divide it up among themselves. Just in Moscow alone they got cash in the sum of more than R1 billion.

On the admission of the cooperatives themselves, a new "black market" is operating in the capital in which trade-middleman cooperatives offer the exchange of cash for non-cash transfers at a ratio of 1 to 3. Let us say you gave the manager of a state enterprise 1 ruble in cash and he makes a 3-ruble non-cash transfer to you to the cooperative account, which can then be removed from the account, exchanged into cash again, and so on in a circle. This is the stock market play of stock brokers. This is a convenient way of "laundering" money, which leads to exhaustion of the state budget and the destruction of finances.

[Binev] The press has already cited data on the amount of damage from theft—R154.6 million. Does this figure reflect the true state of affairs?

[Larkov] Unfortunately, no. One cannot orient oneself on criminal statistics, inasmuch as it fixes attention only on the disclosure of cases, but this is only about 5 percent of the number of committed crimes. Consequently, the real damage is 20 times greater. But even these figures are relative, because now the effectiveness of the disclosure of thefts has dropped by a factor of 3.

Let us take, for example, profiteering: It is flourishing with a luxuriant color, but in the criminal statistics, there is a decrease in those convicted by 31 percent. Only a few cases of the output of poor quality products and upward distortions get into the criminal statistics. At a time when more than 60 percent of the enterprises, of those checked, violated the GOSTs [State Standards], and permitted upward distortions and misrepresentations of state book-keeping.

There are many such examples. And it turns out that the plan is fulfilled in rubles, but there are no commodities.

On the whole, the "price" of the "shadow economy" is comparable to the volume of the annual retail commodity turnover of the country, i.e., its budget is not less than R300-350 billion.

The destructive force of this capital is obvious. The opportunities for corruption at the level of the state apparatus are practically unlimited. Especially because personnel are in the sphere of the special attention of the operators in the shadow economy. There is one aim in this case—to move "friendly people" into key posts. This is why part of the apparatus opposes perestroyka so fiercely.

[Binev] But surely such immense power was not always concentrated in its hands?

[Larkov] Of course not. One can conditionally identify several periods. Thus, during Stalin's time, the "shadow economy" was born as a child of the command system, but it was entirely cut off because of a developed repressive apparatus. Under Khrushchev, it began to grow. When the theft of the first million was reported to him, he was astonished, and he could not believe this for a long time. Later, he was no longer surprised, and he conducted a fierce fight against upward distortions (1961), and against theft and bribery (1962). During Brezhnev's time, it literally blossomed. The fight against it was only simulated. Andropov began "uprooting" this phenomenon in a real way. It was then that many of the cases which are now termed celebrated were begun. Now the USSR Supreme Soviet has declared a war on crime, although more on "street crime" than on the "shadow economy." But, I think, that the fight against it will also be intensified.

[Binev] Is there a direct link between organized crime and the "shadow economy."

[Larkov] Undoubtedly.

[Binev] Can one speak now of the decentralized management of the "shadow economy."

[Larkov] I do not think so. It is hardly possible to manage such an "octopus" from a center. But the mechanism for "knocking out" the system is one and the same in any area. The main thing is to be "covered" from the center. The centralization of management can be talked about conclusively only on the level of departments—thefts, upward distortions, bribery, illicit production—all of these are links in one chain.